Daily Report

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Further on Paris Chemical Weapons Conference 1
CSSR's Johanes Speaks *[Prague RUDE PRAVO 10 Jan]* 1
Johanes Interviewed on Talks *[Prague RUDE PRAVO 11 Jan]* 2
Johanes, UK's Waldegrave Meet *[Prague CTK]* 3
Olechowski, Spanish Counterpart Meet *[Warsaw Radio]* 3
Olechowski Meets Finland's Sorsa *[Warsaw PAP]* 3

ALBANIA

Kapllani Previews Meeting of Balkan Ministers *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Foreign Minister Returns From Paris 12 Jan *[ATA]* 4
Hanku, Delegation Return From Cuba 12 Jan *[ATA]* 5
Civilian Air Transport Cooperation With France *[ATA]* 5
Leaders' Public Appearances 6-13 Jan *[Tirana Radio]* 5

BULGARIA

Human Rights Activists Tomov, Minev Denounced *[TRUD 13 Jan]* 6
Activities of Arrested Activists Examined *[BTA]* 9
Sofia City People's Council Holds Session *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Filipov-Led Delegation Returns From Cuba *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 11 Jan]* 10
Dyulgerov, BCP Entourage Visit Spain 11
Meet With Leaders *[BTA]* 11
Attend Party Congress *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 16 Jan]* 11
Confer With Anguita, Depart *[Sofia Radio]* 11
Papazov-Led Delegation Returns From FRG *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 12 Jan]* 11

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Protests Mark 20th Anniversary of Student Suicide 12
Government 'Clampdown' *[AFP]* 12
Protestors Dispersed 15 Jan *[AFP]* 12
Security Forces Arrest 91 *[Prague Radio]* 13
89 Arrested Protesters Freed *[AFP]* 13
Water Cannons, Tear Gas Used *[Hamburg DPA]* 13
Protestors Arrested 16 Jan *[CTK]* 13
Anniversary 'Provocation' Condemned *[Bak, Boudova, Kojzar in RUDE PRAVO 12 Jan]* 14
Press on Anniversary, Charter 77 15
Jan Fojtik Addresses Plzen Aktiv on Ideology *[Prague Radio]* 17
Views Dissidents, Restructuring *[Prague TV]* 18
Lenart, Johanes Receive U.S. Senators *[CTK]* 18
Explosives Expert in UK on Pan Am Crash, Talks *[CTK]* 18
Official Says Lack of Israeli Ties 'Not Normal' *[Jerusalem Radio]* 19

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Liebknecht, Luxemburg Remembered, Honored 20
Honecker Attends Rally *[ADN]* 20
Militant Demonstration Held *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16 Jan]* 20
Leaflet Urges Democratization *[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU 16 Jan]* 20
New Crackdown on Dissident Activists Reported 21
Police Operation Yields Arrests *[AFP]* 21
Would-Be Emigrants Sentenced *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 16 Jan]* 21

SEW Delegation Arrives, Meets With Leaders 21
Honecker Receives Group *[ADN]* 21
SEW Chairman on Honecker Talks *[ADN]* 23
Maleuda Holds Talks With DPRK Vice President *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 12 Jan]* 23
Stolpe's DIE WELT Interview Criticized *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 11 Jan]* 23
Association of Free Thinkers To Be Created *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 14-15 Jan]* 23
Paris Chemical Warfare Conference Results Viewed *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 13 Jan]* 24

HUNGARY

Council of Ministers Defends Price Increases *[MTI]* 25
Budapest City Party Committee Meets 14 Jan 25
Jasso Speech Opens Proceedings *[Budapest Radio]* 25
Nemeth on Reforms, Price Hikes *[Budapest TV]* 26
Nemeth Interviewed on Reforms *[Budapest Radio]* 28
Political Committee Member on Economy, Reforms *[MTI]* 29
Grosz, Leaders Receive U.S. Congressmen *[MTI]* 30
ROK Embassy-Level Relations To Begin 1 Feb *[Seoul YONHAP]* 31
Investigation of 18 Border 'Corpses' Continues *[Budapest TV]* 31
Democratic Forum Members Cited on Romanians *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 14 Jan]* 31
Police Captain on Romanian Refugees, Deportees *[MTI]* 32
New March Front Proposes National Committee *[MTI]* 32

POLAND

PZPR 10th Plenum Convenes, Speeches Made 34
Jaruzelski Addresses Audience *[Warsaw Radio]* 34
Orzechowski Delivers Speech *[Warsaw Radio]* 37
Jaruzelski Reflects on Past Year's Events *[Warsaw TV]* 41
Further on New Year Speech *[Warsaw Radio]* 42
Jaruzelski Comments on 'Socialist Pluralism' *[Warsaw TV]* 42
Walesa Letter Read to Workers in Wroclaw *[Warsaw Radio]* 43
Police Break Up Pro-Solidarity Demonstration *[AFP]* 43

ROMANIA

Government Statement on Vienna CSCE Document *[Bucharest Radio]* 44
Visit of Chinese Foreign Minister Detailed 45
Welcomed by Totu *[AGERPRES]* 45
Discusses Ties With Ceausescu *[AGERPRES]* 45
Ends Visit, Departs *[AGERPRES]* 45
Interior Ministry Aktiv Cables Ceausescu *[SCINTEIA 14 Jan]* 46
Press Marks Anniversary of Treaty With Bulgaria *[AGERPRES]* 47
Ceausescu Congratulates DKP's Mies on Reelection *[SCINTEIA 11 Jan]* 47
Leaders' Public Appearances for 7-14 Jan 48

YUGOSLAVIA

Crowds Gather While Montenegrin Government Meets *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
Mazic Reinstated to Montenegro Central Committee *[TANJUG]* 49
Titograd Municipal Assembly Officials Resign *[TANJUG]* 49
More on Resignations *[TANJUG]* 49
'Several Hundred' Protest in Danilovgrad *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
Dizdarevic, Suvar Criticized in Montenegro *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Holds Session *[TANJUG]* 50
Members Expelled From LCY *[TANJUG]* 52
New Candidates Proposed *[TANJUG]* 52
Serbian LC Favors Sipovac as Vojvodina Chief *[Belgrade Radio]* 53
Slovene Central Committee Presidium Session *[TANJUG]* 53
Smole Speaks in Slovenia on Political Pluralism *[TANJUG]* 53

Slovene Trade Unions Adopt Strike Rules *[BORBA 6 Jan]* 53
Slovene Unions 'Wish To Grow Into Parties' *[Belgrade Radio]* 54
Slovene Democratic Union Adopts Program *[Ljubljana DELO 13 Jan]* 55
Candidates Nominated for SFRY Presidency 55
Milosevic, Others Nominated *[TANJUG]* 55
Croat Candidates Announced *[TANJUG]* 55
FEC Vice President Declines Candidacy *[Zagreb Radio]* 55
LCY Congress To Be Held Early, Suvar Says *[Belgrade Radio]* 56
Official Resigns Because of Suvar's Actions *[TANJUG]* 56
POLITIKA Criticizes Suvar's Stands *[TANJUG]* 56
Dizdarevic Addresses Presidency Session *[TANJUG]* 57
New Association for Democratic Initiative Formed *[BORBA 11 Jan]* 57

Further on Paris Chemical Weapons Conference

CSSR's Johanes Speaks

AU1301115289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jan 89 p 7

["Speech" by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, at the international conference on banning chemical weapons in Paris on 9 January]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Chairman; to begin with, I would like to thank President Francois Mitterrand and the Government of the French Republic for their initiative in convening this conference in Paris, and for its exemplary organization and hospitality.

We welcome the fact that the conference is taking place in close cooperation with the United Nations. We regard this as an expression of the growing role of the United Nations in solving the urgent tasks of the present, to which inseparably belongs also the strengthening of the international legal ban on the use of chemical weapons. This task is all the more important because the danger of chemical weapons has recently increased and is eliciting justifiable concern in the international community.

Thus, it is in our common interest that the conference issue a determined call for chemical disarmament by means of speedily agreeing on and adopting a treaty on a universal and total ban on all chemical weapons and on the destruction of their stockpiles.

We are meeting at a time that requires resolute actions. The world community faces the unpostponable task of further deepening and making use of the positive changes that have been achieved in international relations. A dialogue is developing between the USSR and the United States, between East and West; the activities for peace on the part of the nonaligned countries is increasing. Thanks to the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, mankind has taken the first step toward real nuclear disarmament, toward the implementation of the program for the total scrapping of mass destruction weapons by the year 2000. The next step will be to gradually find political solutions when dealing with regional conflicts.

All these are concrete signs of new political thinking, and of new political attitudes under the real [realne] conditions of our contemporary interconnected world. The important thing now is to comprehensively assist this development and make common effort toward resolving problems that are still burdening international relations. In this respect issues connected with nuclear, chemical, and conventional disarmament are of primary importance.

Without bold decisions to mobilize the forces of peace and common sense, a further reduction in tension and an improvement of the international situation cannot occur. Therefore, we fully support the comprehensive program for intensifying political dialogue, far-reaching initiatives, and important unilateral measures for reducing armed forces and armaments, submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev from the UN rostrum. The Czechoslovak proposal to establish a zone of trust, cooperation, and goodneighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO, submitted by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, organically falls within the category of these peace efforts.

As one of the first signatories of the 1925 Geneva protocol, Czechoslovakia always pursues ways to ensure its strict observance and strengthening its general obligatory nature. We appreciate the positive role this unique document has played in international relations for 64 years now.

We affirm our loyalty to the letter and the spirit of the Geneva protocol. We always consistently abided by it, and will continue to strictly observe it in the future.

We are also joining the categorical international condemnation of all its violations. We favor the development and adoption of concrete measures aimed at strengthening its authority, at making it universal, and at giving the United Nations and its secretary general power to play an even more active role in investigating instances of the use of chemical weapons. We believe that the mechanism that is being created for this purpose will expediently promote strict observance of the Geneva protocol.

In connection with the effort aimed at the document's strict observance, I would also like to express due appreciation for the importance of another international legal instrument—the 1972 treaty banning bacteriological and toxic weapons and their destruction—which complements and further broadens the protocol. It also obliges us to negotiate a speedy global ban on chemical means of conducting a war, these barbaric weapons of mass destruction, which should have been already long ago and forever excluded from the life of mankind.

Therefore, we note with satisfaction that in recent years marked progress has been made at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva in developing a treaty on a universal and total ban of chemical weapons and their destruction. **The negotiations have reached a stage where, with resolute political will, it is possible in the immediate future to conclude work on its preparation, including resolving the verification aspect. The Geneva negotiating forum must concentrate its utmost attention precisely on this key task. In this respect, the year 1989 must be the decisive year.**

In this connection we welcome all constructive steps which contribute to overcoming disagreements and to the convergence of positions. There is no doubt that one of those steps is the unilateral halt of the production of chemical weapons by the Soviet Union, information about their total stockpiles, and in the end also showing them, including the manner of their destruction in Shikhanny. The opening for inspection of similar projects and facilities in

the United States, Great Britain, the FRG and other countries were of positive significance from the viewpoint of the growth of openness and trust.

Weighty proposals and ideas concerning chemical disarmament resounded also in the United Nations last year. Here we welcomed the French declaration as a step in the right direction.

Permit me to stress from this rostrum that **the CSSR—as our government affirmed in its statement a few days ago—does not posses, does not manufacture, and does not stockpile chemical weapons on its territory. We also do not have facilities intended for their development and manufacture. Our scientific-technical base in this sphere is oriented exclusively toward protection against the effects of those weapons and toward peaceful purposes.**

Czechoslovakia welcomed the proposal to carry out experimental verification on the national and international levels to determine whether chemical weapons are not being manufactured by the civilian industry. We are convinced that practical experience acquired from this experiment will contribute to a speedy solution of the outstanding issues that have been raised pertaining to verification within the framework of the future treaty. **Our country has adopted a decision to take part in the experiment and is ready to carry out its first stage.**

In the interest of strengthening the regimen of the nonproliferation of chemical weapons we have also adopted a legal amendment which ensures the supervision of the exports of chemical substances with a dual application. The purpose of this measure is not to discriminate against anyone and does not hinder international cooperation in the peaceful development of the chemical industry.

We are prepared to play an intensive role in the fastest possible finalization of the draft treaty and become its initial participant. In this connection we support E. Shevardnadze's initiative to convene a session of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva on the level of ministers of foreign affairs for a definitive approval of the draft treaty in the final stage of its preparation.

In our view, even regional measures can effectively help ban chemical weapons worldwide. The proposals for establishing a zone without chemical weapons in central Europe, which the CSSR submitted with the GDR in 1985-88, are oriented precisely toward that end. We support proposals for the establishment of similar zones also in other parts of the world.

We consider it necessary that our conference unanimously affirms the validity of the international legal commitments arising from the Geneva protocol, and appeals to states that are not as yet its participants, to join it without delay. At the same time, the conference must provide decisive impetus for activating the negotiations on the universal and total ban of chemical weapons and their scrapping to speedily finalize the pertinent treaty and put it in effect.

All this should be reflected in the final document. Czechoslovakia will continue to exert maximum effort to achieve these objectives.

Johanes Interviewed on Talks

AU1301154089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Elimination of Chemical Weapons Guarantees Their Nonuse; Jaromir Johanes Interviewed By RUDE PRAVO and CTK Prior to Flying Back From Paris"]

[Text] Paris—CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes granted an interview to RUDE PRAVO and CTK reporters prior to flying back from Paris on Tuesday [10 January]; as head of the Czechoslovak delegation, he had attended the conference of signatories of the Geneva protocol of 1925 banning the use of chemical weapons.

Johanes said that the Czechoslovak delegation had come to Paris to express the CSSR's conviction that only the total elimination of chemical weapons can most reliably guarantee the permanent removal of the threat of their being used. That is why the appeal for a maximum activation of current Geneva negotiations on the convention on a general and total ban on chemical weapons and on their destruction was regarded as one of the key tasks of the Paris conference from the very beginning of its preparations. This was also stressed in the speech delivered by the head of the Czechoslovak delegation.

The course of the conference to date confirms that an overwhelming majority of states have reached similar conclusions, J. Johanes said. High political representatives are stating that their countries are prepared to fully respect the Geneva protocol, demanding that it be immediately joined by states which have not yet done so. Support is also granted to the effort to prevent chemical weapons from spreading further, and above all to the demand for an activation of negotiations on a worldwide ban on, and elimination of, chemical weapons. Several participants in the conference have come to Paris with specific proposals.

As for the CSSR's contribution to the conference, the Czechoslovak minister said that, side by side with the initiative to set up a zone free of chemical weapons in central Europe—which is already known, and which is being pushed through by the CSSR together with the GDR—the conference was also briefed on the CSSR Government's significant declaration of 6 January 1989 on issues connected with banning and eliminating chemical weapons. Both the data contained in the declaration, and our specific contribution to efforts to prevent chemical weapons from spreading by adopting measures

aimed at limiting the exports of dual-purpose chemicals, as well as our readiness to join the chemical convention immediately after its conclusion, all encountered a positive reaction.

J. Johanes said that the statement of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze—among other things, he declared at the conference that the USSR would start eliminating chemical weapons already this year, that is, even prior to the final conclusion of the conference—and also other Soviet proposals are regarded as a significant step and example, which should be followed above all by the United States. Several countries have announced that they are joining the protocol.

In replying to the final question about the main significance of the Paris conference, Minister Johanes stated that the conference is not yet concluded and that intensive negotiations are still going on with regard to its final document. In this document it will be necessary to launch a unanimous appeal to further consolidate the Geneva protocol and activate negotiations on the banning and total elimination of chemical weapons, so that these negotiations can be concluded at the earliest opportunity. The CSSR Foreign Minister expressed his confidence that it will be possible to broadly apply new approaches to solving global international problems and that the Paris conference will become a new and striking stimulus for definitely and irreversibly eliminating chemical weapons from the life of mankind.

Johanes, UK's Waldegrave Meet

LD1101093989 Prague CTK in English 0900 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Paris Jan 11 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs William Waldegrave met here yesterday before their departure from an international conference on chemical weapons.

They discussed possible steps which would lower the risk of the misusing of explosives for terrorist activities. Jaromir Johanes in this connection pointed out the Czechoslovak proposal addressed to the British Government to launch a joint initiative in the interest of the struggle against terrorism. Czechoslovakia proposed to hold expert talks in the framework of the United Nations, attended by all producers of plastic explosives, which would result in the signing of an international convention on the principles of marking and detecting plastic explosives, including the pledge of producers of plastic explosives to announce to the United Nations shipments and customers of these substances.

William Waldegrave announced that Great Britain accepted the Czechoslovak proposal with interest and is studying it carefully. He appreciated the sending of a group of Czechoslovak experts to help identify the explosive which caused the explosion aboard the Pan Am jumbo jet over Scotland on December 21.

The two representatives expressed readiness to further cooperate in these questions.

Olechowski, Spanish Counterpart Meet

LD1001114989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Olechowski today talked in Paris with Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, the chief of Spanish diplomacy. Particular attention was paid to Poland's relations with the EEC, as Spain is at present acting as the leader of the EEC. During the course of their conversation about the traditionally good bilateral relations, the envisaged visit to Poland by King Juan Carlos was also discussed.

Olechowski Meets Finland's Sorsa

LD1001232189 Warsaw PAP in English 1914 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, Jan 10—Head of a Polish delegation for the on-going conference on chemical weapons, Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski held here talks with Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister of Finland Kalevi Sorsa.

The talks focussed on bilateral relations. The ministers noted with satisfaction their development and expressed the conviction as to the still existing considerable reserves for the expansion of this cooperation in all domains.

Kapllani Previews Meeting of Balkan Ministers
AU1401170689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Announcer-read report of interview with Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, by an ATA correspondent]

[Text] As is known, a meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of Balkan countries will be held in Tirana on 18 January. In this connection, an ATA correspondent interviewed Comrade Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Question: What can you tell us about the preparations for this meeting?

Answer: The meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, in Tirana, from 18 January through 20 January, is being held following a number of regional level activities in the fields of transportation, ecology, the economy, and so forth, which took place in the spirit of cooperation stimulated by the Belgrade meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, which was followed by the meeting of senior Foreign Ministry officials in Sofia.

Progress has by now been made in the direction of multilateral cooperation, this being a testimony of the beginning of a positive and welcome process at the regional level. In this framework, our public opinion has shown particular interest in the coming meeting, thus expressing its sincere desire for peace, friendship, and fruitful cooperation between the peoples and states of the Balkans. The meeting has also aroused interest among public opinion in other Balkan countries. In the context of the preparations for the 18 January meeting, bilateral consultations were held with all the Balkan countries, more concretely, with the coordinators from Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Greece, who exchanged opinions on various activities, in particular, with regard to concrete activities which will take place in 1989.

We rejoice at the fact that in the course of these consultations, all interested parties expressed their predisposition and readiness to make certain that the Tirana meeting is concluded successfully, in order to continue the dialogue and the cooperation that has began on a regional level.

Question: What will be the major points of the meeting?

Answer: The delegations of the six countries concerned, which will be led by their respective deputy ministers, will also include experts on Balkan problems. A broad exchange of opinions on various aspects of Balkan cooperation will reinforce positive trends in our region, thus strengthening understanding and trust between our peoples. The meeting will examine the experience and results attained to date in the context of Balkan cooperation during 1988. It will work out a precise agenda and determine the place for further activities to be held in 1989, and it will make recommendations in connection with these activities, whose major purpose will be to examine the possibilities for the further consolidation of cooperation between the Balkan countries.

The Tirana meeting will discuss and set out a date and place for the next meeting of the Balkan foreign ministers, as well as for the next meeting of senior representatives of the respective foreign ministries. With regard to the activities to be held in the current year, our country will take upon itself the task of organizing the meeting of the committees of Balkan cooperation and understanding in Tirana during the first half. We consider this to be important not only with regard to the reactivation of the work of these committees, but also with regard to the elevation of their important role and function in creating an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation in the Balkans.

The meeting of the economic or foreign trade ministers in Turkey will be of particular importance for concrete inter-Balkan cooperation and in the context of economic, industrial, and technical cooperation. The same applies to the meeting in Romania on industrial cooperation and technological transfers, as well as to the creation of a special institute to research Balkan economic cooperation, and so forth. The Balkan states will also engage in joint activities to examine the possibilities of extending cooperation in the fields of culture, humanitarian questions, information, agriculture, and so forth. The Bucharest meeting of experts, who will exchange opinions of various questions of security in our region, will also be of great interest, as will the Belgrade meeting on cooperation in the war against drug abuse, and so forth.

The meeting of deputy foreign ministers, which will be held in the Hotel Tirana, in our capital, will be attended by journalists from the Albanian press, ATA, and Albanian Radio-Television, as well as journalists from news agencies, newspapers, and radio-television from Balkan and some other countries.

We are convinced that at the Tirana meeting, which is part of the process of Balkan friendship, the participating countries will demonstrate the political will to further promote multilateral cooperation in the interest of understanding, trust, peace, and stability in our region.

Foreign Minister Returns From Paris 12 Jan
AU1301131689 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, January 13 (ATA)—The delegation of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania headed by the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, returned home from Paris on January 12. It attended the international conference on the ban of the chemical weapons.

The delegation was received by the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Farudin Hoxha and the vice-minister of the Foreign Affairs, Muhamet Kapllani.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic in Tirana, Philippe Legrain.

Hanku, Delegation Return From Cuba 12 Jan

AU1301131989 Tirana ATA in English
0915 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, January 13 (ATA)—The delegation of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, headed by the member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Rahman Hanku, which attended the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban revolution, returned home on January 12.

Over its stay in Cuba, the delegation was received by the member of the State Council, Orlando Lugo; the chairman of the Commission of Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly and chairman of the Cuban Institute of Friendship With the Peoples, Rene Rodriguez Cruz; the minister of the State Committee on Economic Cooperation, Ernesto Melendez, etc. In the course of these meetings, the Cuban personalities expressed their satisfaction for the participation of the Albanian delegation in the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban revolution. They talked also of the possibilities existing for the further development of the friendly relations between the PSR of Albania and the Republic of Cuba.

Civilian Air Transport Cooperation With France

AU1301132389 Tirana ATA in English
0920 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, January 13 (ATA)—Recently, the talks between the delegation of the Ministry of Transports of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, headed by the chief of the Branch for Affairs With Foreign Countries, Leonard Zisi, and the French delegation, headed by the counselor at the Department of Economic and Financial Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, Yves Gaudeul, were conducted in Tirana on the development of cooperation in the field of civic air transport, as well as on the conclusion of an agreement between the governments of the two countries in these fields.

Upon its stay in our country the French delegation was received by the vice-minister of transports, Ferdinand Tako. Likewise, it paid visits to the cities of Tirana and Kruje.

Leaders' Public Appearances 6-13 Jan

AU1401140689 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 6-13 January reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Muho Asllani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Shkoder District AWP Committee first secretary attended a ceremony to inaugurate new production lines at the Shkoder Wire Works. (1900 GMT 9 January)

Pali Miska, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Korce District AWP Committee first secretary, attended on 11 January a meeting held in Korce to commemorate the 43d anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic. (1900 GMT 11 January)

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, returned home from Paris on 12 January. (2100 GMT 12 January)

Human Rights Activists Tomov, Minev Denounced
AU1601163989 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
13 Jan 89 pp 5, 6

[Delcho Delchev (Atupov) article: "Struggle for Human Rights or Malicious Disinformation," reprinted from Mikhaylovgrad SEPTEMVRIYSKO DELO in Bulgarian of 7 January]

[Text] We first heard about him from readers' letters. Indignant readers wrote us that a certain Dimitur Tomov, who presents himself as a painter from Mikhaylovgrad and as a member of some independent society on human rights in Bulgaria, has given telephone interviews to Western radio stations, in which he has permitted himself to slander our reality and support his claims with invented false facts about persecution and repressions against the people, crude violations of human rights, and so forth.

"On 17 November 1988 I heard on the BBC newscast a talk with the Bulgarian Dimitur Tomov, a painter from Mikhaylovgrad," citizen Khristo Pelov writes in his letter. Pelov was born and worked in the Mikhaylovgrad Oblast and now lives in Sofia. "I heard the slanderer and bowed my head with shame and pain. My first thought was how and why has such a twerp appeared in our revolutionary and fighting region, somebody who is shedding tears for the restricted human freedoms in Bulgaria? For whom is he concerned? For those who have been imprisoned because they have violated public and personal property and have robbed and killed people?

"When I heard you, Tomov, I understood that you are not lost yet. Your thought process is smooth and your words are clear. However, your idea of the real freedom of personality is very elementary, or even nonexistent. It is because of too much freedom for those who lack consciousness and education (such as you) that such people misused this freedom. They used it against those who granted it to them. You maintained in your interview with the BBC that you are surrounded by followers, who are very attentive to you and your courage. You are lying, young man. You have no followers in our region or in any other place in our country, except for some people who have been punished by the people's government because of their criminal acts. Only such people will pat you on the back.

"In response to his slanders," Khristo Pelov writes in conclusion, "let a correspondent of SEPTEMVRIYSKO DELO publish information on his real character and the reasons that have caused his fall. Interview him. Let us hear him under the conditions of glasnost and unmask his lies and slanders."

Other indignant citizens from the oblast and the country also sent similar letters to SEPTEMVRIYSKO DELO. They ask: Who actually is this Dimitur Tomov, and are there no forces in Mikhaylovgrad that could once and for all stop his slanderous campaign against our society?...

Against the background of all those letters it was only natural and understandable by all that our editorial board could not remain indifferent, and had to carefully investigate and study the facts and circumstances surrounding the behavior of the person in question.

This is what we have established:

Dimitur Tomov Yordanov was born on 8 April 1956 in Mikhaylovgrad. His father has died, his mother is retired.

In 1974 Dimitur Tomov graduated from the polytechnical high school in Mikhaylovgrad. He has taken to painting and has repeatedly applied to the Painters' Academy in Sofia; however, because of a lack of sufficient achievement he was not admitted. His wife is working as a teacher at the Second Elementary Economic-Professional School in Mikhaylovgrad, and is studying by correspondence. They have a small daughter.

Dimitur Tomov has worked for 9 months as a general worker at the pig-breeding enterprise in Studeno Buche village, and for 6 months as a fitter—first class at the Balkan plant. Later on he became a painter at the Mikhaylovgrad agro-industrial combine, window-dresser at the cooperative union, then painter and later on dyer at the "Cultural Rest and Decoration" economic enterprise in Mikhaylovgrad.

On 4 July he was appointed as a construction dyer—fourth class at the "Construction Mechanization" enterprise in Mikhaylovgrad. His labor contract stipulates an additional remuneration of 50 leva per month, according to Article 257 of the Labor Code, as "designer and painter." This has been done without providing any document on his right to simultaneously engage in such activity in addition to his regular duties. With the permission of the "Construction Mechanization" enterprise he has simultaneously worked at another place—the "Cultural Rest and Decoration" economic enterprise in Mikhaylovgrad, also as a painter. It is not clear why he received this permission. According to the opinion of engineer Marin Marinov, director of the enterprise, he is fulfilling his duties well, because, as Tomov expressed himself, "He was afraid of persecution and did not want to provide a reason for being fired...."

This Dimitur Tomov for a long time has imparted various kinds of information (through the telephone and other channels), and gives interviews on the violation of human rights in Mikhaylovgrad, the oblast, and the country. Such interviews have been given to the world-renowned and authoritative BBC English radio station, the "Free Europe" U.S. radio station in Munich, and the big "Deutsche Welle" FRG radio station in Cologne.

What did his interviews and announcements consist of?

One could judge this from the BTA bulletins, whose content sufficiently, objectively, and convincingly reveals his moral positions and intellectual character.

It would be interesting for the readers of our newspapers to acquaint them with what has been said.

In his interview with Mrs Myra Martin, journalist at the BBC London editorial bureau, recently broadcast by that station, Dimitur Tomov unambiguously presented himself as a martyr and hero! He claimed that he was constantly subjected to systematic persecution and harassment on the part of the Mikhaylovgrad authorities because of his defense of human rights, and that he is even being "threatened with death" if he does not find refuge in a Western country. His wife and daughter, (who is in the fourth grade!) are also subjected to systematic harassment. "This is our daily life," he claims. "We are constantly threatened, they create difficulties for us, and we cannot live in peace and freely as normal people!" However, he, Dimitur Tomov, defends and will defend to the end his ideas and rights as a human being and will not leave Bulgaria unless he is forced to do so or he is expelled....

Our investigation proved that those are elementary insinuations.

Furthermore, not only have the human rights of Dimitur Tomov not been violated, but he physically enjoys and lives in a privileged situation—in violation of the requirements of qualifications and labor legislation he has been allowed to simultaneously receive two parallel incomes as a painter. This generous benevolence of his superiors has been interpreted by him as sufficient reason to present himself to Western radio stations as a painter-intellectual and creator who is being persecuted because of his dissident opinions and actions.

However, this false self-appointment is the most innocent lie in his case. Afterward Dimitur Tomov quickly composed all kinds of legends about himself, and used them to easily deceive the Western radio stations. Since he himself understood that his lies were rather transparent, he quickly denied them:

"My personal human rights have not been violated so far," he said without a trace of embarrassment to a representative of our editorial board. "However, I have decided to struggle for the rights of others. I keep a file with the complaints of people of our region who have been wronged, and only we can help them."

"Who is we?"

"Well... I and my leadership."

"Where is it?"

"Here, in Bulgaria, and across the border. Wait a minute, not across the border," he quickly says when he understands that he had said something improper. "Those who are across the border do not have the right to be in the leadership...."

In the same interview with Mrs Myra Martin from the BBC, Dimitur Tomov quickly presented another lie:

"Yes, I continue to deal with human rights!" (Despite the threats against his life—author's note). "Every day more and more people are joining us!"

He adds that large crowds of people come ever more frequently to him so that he can defend their human rights. "We are simply overloaded!", he complains, and explains that people in Bulgaria know that he exists; however, they do not know in what city he lives and what his address is—otherwise perhaps hordes of people would leave everything and start looking for him. This is so because you see, "we are the last entity (in Bulgaria—author's note), that can help the people. We are a hope...."

It turned out that all this is a bluff. Simply nobody from Mikhaylovgrad or the oblast—let alone the country—has ever looked and is not looking for Dimitur Tomov so that he can defend their human rights. Is this just a bad dream or deliberate disinformation?

The answer can be found in another interview of Tomov's, this time with Mr Konstantin Mishev, correspondent of "Free Europe."

"In our previous talks," begins the "Free Europe" announcer in an attempt to introduce the topic to the listeners, "the painter Dimitur Tomov told us about the persecution to which he had been subjected because of his disagreement with governmental policy and his participation in the independent human rights committee...." A series of questions to Tomov follows, to which he responds with incredibly false and pompous answers. Toward the end Tomov clarifies:

"I would like to draw your attention to the fact that I am the representative of a younger generation—those born in 1956—that perhaps has not suffered the same sacrifices as those who were born before us. I can mention the names of my friends, such as Lyubomir Mechkov, Teodosi Antonov, Rumen Dimitrov, and Kiril Borisov, who are my age and have problems...."

We approached the "wronged" citizens pointed out by him, whose human rights he was ready to defend, and asked them to share their opinion with our readers.

"Mitko and I know each other from school, and I can say that he has not experienced any special traumas in his life, thus he cannot feel himself as having been wronged," Lyubomir Mechkov, art expert from Mikhaylovgrad, said without any hesitation. "He had the opportunity to study and develop as a painter. He has participated in exhibitions and has received commissions and remunerations for his work, as qualified painters do. He has no housing problems—they live in a 2-storey house.

His wife is working as a teacher at the second elementary school and is taking a correspondence course. They have one child—a daughter—who is studying like any other Bulgarian child.

"When I heard accidentally that Dimitur Tomov had quoted my name as an example of somebody who had been wronged, I did not believe it. However, then I heard it from more people.... I and Teodosi Antonov, who also was quoted by Tomov, had a quarrel with Mitko. I personally have never authorized him to talk about me, and I have never asked for his or anybody else's cooperation in defending my human rights, because in my case there has never been such a violation. Mitko simply was not familiar with the case. In addition he certainly had to quote some names, so he apparently decided on our names simply because he knows us.

"The 'reason' for the unexpected 'defense' is the fact that I wanted to travel to Greece in connection with my scientific work. I would like to note that in the past I have visited Greece, and nobody created any difficulties. The difficulties emerged this time because of the lack of foreign currency on the part of the Bulgarian Automobile Association, which was supposed to sponsor my trip. I was aware of this, and talked about it with my colleagues. Only Mitko—without knowing the whole story—decided to interpret the story in his own way. I said to him, 'Why are you talking nonsense? Nobody prevented me from traveling. I simply have not handed in my documents, and still have them.' He answered that he did not know.

"I think that everything he is saying in his interviews about his 'mission' in defending human rights is cheap stuff."

This is the opinion of Teodosi Antonov, who has also been "wronged" according to Dimitur Tomov:

"I treated the quoting of my name as a joke. According to the Bulgarian laws my rights to travel abroad have not been violated. I have traveled abroad many times, to many countries.

"Everything related to his claims to defend the human rights of Bulgarian citizens is children's stuff. I do not think that anyone can seriously accept these claims. Look, he is still immature, and his deeds have always been treated as jokes or tricks...."

The opinions and attitudes of various other representatives of the intelligentsia to the "statements" of Dimitur Tomov are in a similar vein. We can even quote the statement of a painter from Mikhaylovgrad, who obviously has a sense of humor:

"I relinquish my human rights if Dimitur Tomov is the one who defends them!..."

Nevertheless, can we show such an indulgent attitude toward Tomov's shallow lies and slanders and treat them as childish, frivolous, and joking manifestations? If they had been imparted on the street, in a coffeehouse, or among drunk and happy friends, one could try to understand. However, a completely different thing is involved here—malicious slander disseminated through such powerful radio stations as the BBC, "Free Europe," and "Deutsche Welle," which cover almost half of the world. We are curious to know how they would feel if they knew that their contributor Dimitur Tomov, whose every word they treated as the truth, is, to put it mildly, making fools of them....

However, the case is not funny. Its serious nature is underscored by another significant fact that we must not ignore:

Recently Dimitur Tomov repeatedly and insistently demanded an interview with me as chief editor of SEPTEMVRIYSKO DELO. At the time I was very busy and could not find the time for such a meeting. When I called him later he refused to meet me.

"Why? Didn't you want very much to see me?" I asked.

"Well, because the instructions have changed!," he said. "In the past I was instructed to meet you and acquaint you with the list of persecuted people that I compile, publish the cases in the newspaper, and defend their rights. Now I have been instructed to refuse a meeting with you!"

"Come, come...," I tried to joke, "how strict could these instructions be?...."

"Absolutely strict!"—Tomov confirmed. "I have been instructed to tell you that if you want to talk to me, the only person who can authorize this is Mr Iliya Minev from Septemvri city, my leader of the independent association on defending human rights in Bulgaria. You can call him now. He is expecting your call!"

This absolute discretion and total obedience of Dimitur Tomov to "his leader," Iliya Minev, naturally evoked my curiosity.

Our additional investigation showed that a person called Iliya Minev really lives in Septemvri city and answers the telephone number that was given to us. He is rather old—71 years—and lives with his third wife, Angelina. He introduces himself as the chairman of the so-called "Independent Association on Defending Human Rights in Bulgaria," and conducts an enviable activity for someone his age.

We must go back in time to understand what sort of bird this "chairman" is, to whom Dimitur Tomov pledges blind obedience. He comes from a typical money-grubbing peasant family. His father owned 500-decare vineyards and was known as a major wine producer and

merchant, who cruelly exploited and robbed the working people. Loyal to his origin, Iliya Minev became a notorious legionary [the Legion was a fascist youth organization in Bulgaria until 1944]. During the period from 1941-45, he was a member of the main leadership, head of the "Foreign Political" Department of the Union of Bulgarian National Legionaries, and leader of the legion in Pazardzhik. He preached fascism as an ideology, and terror against Jews and progressive forces as policy. He himself commanded fascist gangs. (For the information of our readers, we allow ourselves to recall Article 1 of the Statute of the Union of Bulgarian National Legionaries, adopted at its third congress, which took place in Veliko Turnovo in 1933: "The Union of Bulgarian National Legionaries is an independent national movement, based on fascist principles, seated in Sofia.")

The latter part of Iliya Minev's biography is full of other endless crimes:

A major smuggling of attar of roses involving Iliya Minev has been unmasked. (OTECHESTVEN FRONT of 5 June 1946)

Iliya Minev was sentenced to life for participating at the end of 1945 and beginning of 1946 in the establishment of the Executive Committee—an organization with the goal of restoring the status of the national legions aimed at weakening, subverting, and toppling the state government through coups and acts of terror. (Resolution No 491 of Sofia District Court, adopted at its 2-10 December 1946 session)

Later on he was sentenced for additional economic and criminal offenses.

This is Iliya Minev—a fascist gauleiter, bandit, and terrorist, felon, and recidivist—who became the real intellectual father, confessor, and commander of our hero, Dimitur Tomov.

This fact by itself eloquently shows whose ideas and dictation Dimitur Tomov followed when he wept in his interviews with the Western radio stations about the violations of human rights, whom is he serving, and whose cause he is furthering with his tragic-tearful and overt slanders and lies. However, it also showed what kind of people can join this self-proclaimed "Independent Association on Defending Human Rights in Bulgaria," as far as it really exists and attracts anybody under the flag of such a fascist gauleiter and recidivist as Iliya Minev, who again and most impudently showed his not completely broken horns.

Perhaps these facts surrounding Iliya Minev's past and activities have not been known by the BBC, "Free Europe" and "Deutsche Welle?" If this is really so, it would not be a bad idea for our Western colleagues to acquaint themselves with them and understand with whom they are actually dealing and who kindles the disinformation hysterics. Let them also recall the decision of the Moscow conference of 1943—in which the USSR, the United States, and England took part—on excluding fascist and military crimes from the statute of limitations. This was later categorically confirmed by the Nuremberg Court, and afterward by a UN resolution and an international convention worked out on the basis of the resolution. The states, whose interests the BBC, "Free Europe," and "Deutsche Welle" are defending, also signed that convention. We could also add that entire mankind indignantly and forever denounced the brown pest—fascism.

It is hardly necessary to discuss in greater detail the recent controversy on human rights between East and West. This is the theme of another article. However, there is one thing with which we cannot agree: the dissemination of slanders, insults, lies, and biased disinformation. These things do not serve the interests of the process of detente, the new political thinking, or the progress toward a uniform world, in which all states, regardless of their different sociopolitical systems, try to solve the global problems. Such lies and distortions rather serve those sinister and misanthropic forces that hardly think about human rights or are led by humane consideration.

As far as our hero Dimitur Tomov is concerned, he must understand well that the present process of radical restructuring and expanding democracy, glasnost, and socialist pluralism cannot be incorrectly mistaken for the license to deliberately twist the truth and offend and slander our country and people. Socialist pluralism of opinions and ideas and glasnost have their limits—to serve the truth that is pure and sacred to all of us and encourage the revolutionary restructuring of socialism. However, responsibility is to be demanded for every slander and bit of disinformation, especially like those mentioned in this article.

Activities of Arrested Activists Examined

AU1301211589 Sofia BTA in English
1830 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 13 (BTA)—Today's "OTECHESTVEN FRONT" carries an article headlined "The Hypocrisy of Human Rights Lovers". It was written in connection with the statements of a certain Eduard Genov, circulated by the Western mass media. According to them "this Bulgarian citizen was expelled from the country by the Bulgarian authorities because he actively fought for human rights." Genov mentions the names of other "fighters", including 71-year-old Iliya Minev from the town of Septemvri (southern Bulgaria), a self-proclaimed chairman of a certain human rights society in Bulgaria.

The author of the article published in "OTECHESTVEN FRONT" made it his object to find out all facts related to this "society" and its "chairman". The check-up began at the regional court in the town of Pazardzhik where an

application for the legalization of the "society" in question was filed. But it was established that the signatures on it were forged. The reporter visited Minev's home in Septemvri and talked with him for several hours.

Their conversation began with Minev's statement, "I will deliver the funeral oration over the grave of communism". A number of facts and documents made it clear what kind of man Minev is. There is also information provided by his fellow-townsmen and coevals.

From 1941 to 1944 Iliya Minev was one of the leaders of the Union of the Bulgarian National Legions—a fascist organization, clause 9 of whose statute declares war on "everything that is Jewish". 65-Year-old Stoyanka Khaydushka, Minev's fellow-townsman, said to the "OTECHESTVEN FRONT" newspaper: "Before September 9, 1944, he was one of the first aids of the Fascists. He assisted them in making lists of the people who had to be eliminated. Many were afraid of him, especially the Jews. A lot of Jews were ruined because of him."

After September 9, 1944, Minev disappeared from his fellow countrymen's view. They learned he had been arrested from a report in "OTECHESTVEN FRONT" of June 5, 1946, which said that a big rose-oil smuggling affair was uncovered. Dozens of his townsmen sent to the public prosecutor of the Sofia district court pieces of information advising him that in 1940-1942 the faithful aid of the Fascists had organized pogroms over Jews and progressive-minded people. Eight hundred people of the town of Septemvri put their signatures under one of these pieces of information, which was also signed and stamped by Luka Deliyski, chairman of the Trade-Union Council of the General Workers' Trade Union in the town.

"OTECHESTVEN FRONT" has published a list of the sentences passed on Iliya Minev by different instances of the court. In 1946 he was sentenced to imprisonment for life for being a member of an organization whose aim was to overthrow the system of government through take-overs and acts of terrorism. Later he was pardoned, but in 1975 Minev was sentenced to imprisonment again—this time for illegal production of plastic goods.

The article in "OTECHESTVEN FRONT" contains a lot of data from Eduard Genov's criminal record. He was tried for various felonies—ranging from battery to acts of terrorism. Among all other things, the newspaper informs that at the time of Ekaterina Markova's recent trip to Vienna he beat her up, too. She is also a member of Minev's "society", but after the beating she was given by Genov, she approached the Bulgarian embassy in Vienna and they helped her and her children to return to Bulgaria. "OTECHESTVEN FRONT" reminds that Markova was also proclaimed "expelled" from Bulgaria by mass media of the West.

The article ends with the question, "Can Genov, a terrorist, and Minev, a sworn enemy of the Jews, be innocent champions of justice and democracy?"

Sofia City People's Council Holds Session

AU1601201389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] The fourth session of the Sofia City People's Council took place at the People's Palace of Culture today. The plan for the scientific-technical and socioeconomic development of Sofia city was discussed and the budget for 1989 was adopted.

Comrade Ivan Panev attended the session.

It was pointed out at the session that in 1988 the Sofia economic complex produced goods amounting to 5.8 percent more than in 1987.

Goods for the domestic market produced in 1988 exceed the amount envisaged by the plan by 4 percent, while the [word indistinct] increased by 3.8 percent.

The plan for 1989 provides for an acceleration of the processes related to the structural restructuring and technological modernization of production capacities and contributes to the achievement of a qualitatively new economic growth.

Over 1,000 improved, new technologies will be introduced in our industrial sector, while production will be enhanced by more than 900 new types of goods.

The emphasis on the social orientation of the people's council's activities expressed at the session creates favorable conditions for an active social policy of the municipalities for a better satisfaction of the people's material and intellectual needs.

Filipov-Led Delegation Returns From Cuba

AU1201202389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] A party and state delegation from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, returned from Havana yesterday. The delegation attended the celebrations devoted to the 30th anniversary of the victory of revolution, at the invitation of the Cuban party and state leadership.

The delegation was welcomed at Sofia airport by Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, and other officials.

Manuel Perez Hernandez, Cuban ambassador to Bulgaria, was also among those present at the airport.

Dyulgerov, BCP Entourage Visit Spain

Meet With Leaders

AU1501192789 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Madrid January 15 (BTA correspondent)—A delegation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions headed by Mr. Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and alternate member of the CC of the BCP [title as received], was on a visit to Spain at the invitation of the Confederation Sindical de Comisiones Obreras (The Trade Union Confederation of Workers' Commissions).

The Bulgarian trade union delegation was informed on the problems of the trade union movement in Spain and on the most important tasks aimed at protecting the interests of the workers in the country.

The delegation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions had meetings with Mr. Marcelino Camacho, chairman of the Comisiones Obreras (the Workers' Commissions), with members of the Confederal Secretariat of the Workers' Commissions, with the secretary general, Mr. Antonio Gutierrez, and with Mr. Nicolas Redondo, secretary general of the Union General de Trabajadores (the General Workers' Union).

The leaders of the two main trade union organizations of Spain informed the Bulgarian guests on the social and economic situation in Spain and with the tasks the Spanish trade unions have got to carry out in the struggle for defending the interests of the broad social strata.

Mr. Petur Dyulgerov had a meeting with Mr. Gerardo Iglesias, chairman of the political formation "United Left".

He had also a meeting with Mr. Francisco Fernandez Marugan, secretary of economic, social and trade union affairs [title as received] of the Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol (the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party). The two sides discussed matters of mutual interest and expressed a shared wish for the extension of the contacts between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party in particular and between the peoples of the two countries in general.

Attend Party Congress

AU1701094589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jan 89 p 1

[Vladimir Ignatov report: "Spain—Unity Congress Ends"]

[Excerpts] Madrid 15 January—The extraordinary unity congress of the Spanish Communists ended late yesterday. [passage omitted]

Some 19 delegations of communist and workers parties and progressive and national liberation movements were guests at the unity congress of the Spanish Communists. Among them was a BCP delegation, led by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

Confer With Anguita, Depart

AU1601210189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] A BCP delegation, headed by Petur Dyulgerov, which attended the extraordinary congress of the Unity of Spanish Communists, was received by Julio Anguita, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, today.

In a cordial and friendly atmosphere the two delegations exchanged opinions on a series of questions of mutual interest, and the intention of the two parties to intensify relations between Bulgarian and Spanish Communists was expressed.

The delegation returned to Bulgaria later in the day.

Papazov-Led Delegation Returns From FRG

AU1301181089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Jan 89 p 6

[Text] The BCP delegation, headed by Nacho Papazov, chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, returned from the FRG last night after attending the Ninth Congress of the German Communist Party.

Protests Mark 20th Anniversary of Student Suicide

Government 'Clampdown'

AU1401151089 Paris AFP in English
1444 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Prague, Jan 14 (AFP)—Czechoslovak authorities on Saturday [14 January] imposed a security clampdown in Prague on the eve of planned opposition commemorations of the 20th anniversary of the protest suicide by student Jan Palach.

Palach set himself alight in Wenceslas Square in the Czechoslovak capital on January 16, 1968, in the way Buddhist monks did during the Vietnam war, as a protest against the crushing of the Prague Spring with the aid of Soviet tanks.

Twenty years after his death, Palach remains an opposition symbol and the clampdown also follows the release of several anonymous messages threatening similar immolations to mark the anniversary.

Police and members of the Communist Party people's militia patrolled central Prague streets and public transport carrying out widespread identity checks.

Wenceslas Square, where five opposition groups called a commemoration meeting for Sunday, and Red Army Soldiers' Square, which has been renamed 'Jan Palach Square' by the dead student's supporters, were also under close surveillance.

Police "temporarily" confiscated a death mask of the student made by sculptor Olbram Zoubek, the artist told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESS. The authorities feared it would be used in demonstrations, he added.

The Communist Party daily RUDE PRAVO on Saturday published four letters calling on the authors of anonymous threats to repeat the Palach protest in Wenceslas Square to give up their plan.

One letter was written by Milan Machovec, a former philosophy teacher to Palach, who in 1969 was thrown out of the Communist Party and later became one of the original co-signatories of the Charter 77 human rights group.

He told AFP that he wrote the letter at RUDE PRAVO's request. The paper did not mention his role in the Czechoslovak opposition movement.

Mr. Machovec said he felt "duty bound" to make the appeal as a former teacher of Jan Palach, "a shy and modest boy, and to recall that in his moment of agony, he himself asked other young people not to imitate his act."

Other appeals have been made by Czechoslovak Government and opposition leaders.

Flowers and lighted candles mark the spot at the Prague cemetery where Palach's body lay for 18 months before being dug up and cremated to remove what had become a shrine for nationalists and opposition members.

The unmarked grave has been empty since July 1970, but so many candles have been burned there since that the tree which used to grow alongside shrivelled up and had to be cut down.

Palach died three days after his protest. Hundreds of thousands of people attended his funeral on January 25 and in the following ten days, 17 other people tried to imitate him.

On the day of his funeral, another student, 18-year-old Jan Zajic burned himself to death near the statue of Saint Wenceslas in Prague.

When he was dying he told his mother he had done what he did because "man needs freedom to live". He said other students were ready to do likewise, but warned them "not to copy me."

The Soviet news agency TASS at the time denounced Palach's suicide as an "anti-socialist provocation". His body was cremated in July 1970 and his ashes were sent back to Vsetaty, his hometown 30 kilometers (20 miles) north of Prague.

Protestors Dispersed 15 Jan

AU1501151589 Paris AFP in English
1455 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Prague, Jan 15 (AFP)—Several people were wounded and dozens arrested here Sunday when Czechoslovak anti-riot police violently dispersed some 2,000 people who had gathered in St. Wenceslas Square to mark the 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's self-immolation.

Hundreds of police and militia men went into action as soon as the crowd, that had gathered there despite the heavy security, got close to the statue of St. Wenceslas, singing the national anthem.

A reporter at the scene saw several dozen demonstrators arrested and several people injured.

Five dissident groups had called a brief "commemorative ceremony" in memory of Jan Palach, a student who burned himself to death in protest against the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia two decades ago.

Several people wrote anonymous warnings that they would use the opportunity to commit suicide in the same way as Mr. Palach.

Mr. Palach died a national hero when he burned himself to death on January 16, 1969, in front of the statue of St. Wenceslas, a symbol of Czechoslovak independence. The August 1968 invasion crushed a brief period of liberalisation known as the Prague Spring.

Security Forces Arrest 91

LD1501181889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] CTK reports that several groups of antistate elements today attempted to stage a provocation in Wenceslas Square, a provocation which had long been prepared by Western centers of subversion and some Western radio stations, especially by Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, in cooperation with representatives of the so-called Charter 77.

They attempted, in spite of the ban imposed by state organs, to misuse the anniversary of the meaningless suicide by student Jan Palach to provoke antisocialist emotions and upset public order in the capital.

Members of the public security troops acted firmly against the provocateurs and prevented the action they had planned. They arrested 91 of the most active lawbreakers.

At the insistence of the workers of Prague, members of the people's militia from Prague factories participated in maintaining peace and order in the center of town.

89 Arrested Protesters Freed

AU1601190789 Paris AFP in English 1621 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Prague, Jan 16 (AFP)—Leaders of the Charter 77 human rights organization accused Czechoslovakia's government Monday of signing the new Vienna accord on human rights with one hand while repressing dissidence with the other.

In a statement released after anti-riot police Sunday crushed a demonstration here by thousands of people, Vlasta Chramostova and Libuse Silhanova said Prague signed "the new document on human rights with one hand" but was repressing "at the same time all expression of opinions different" from its own.

They said they feared the accord signed at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Sunday "will become only a piece of paper" in Czechoslovakia.

All but two of the 91 people arrested at the demonstration commemorating the student Jan Palach's self-immolation 20 years ago were released Monday, a government spokesman told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

He confirmed several people were wounded when police violently dispersed the gathering, but said they numbered "less than 10" and were only "slightly hurt".

Spokesman Miroslav Pavel added that legal action would be taken against 20 of the 89 released and 40 would be fined.

Meanwhile anti-riot police were again patrolling Wenceslas Square, site of the demonstration, after dissidents tried to lay flowers near the spot where Jan Palach set himself on fire to protest against the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia which crushed the so-called Prague Spring reforms.

Water Cannons, Tear Gas Used

LD1601174689 Hamburg DPA in German 1655 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Prague (DPA)—According to eyewitnesses, this afternoon in Wenceslas Square the Prague police attacked with water cannons passers-by who wanted to lay flowers at the memorial to St Wenceslas. They said that passers-by going shopping during the afternoon were also involved in the police operation. [passage omitted]

The attempt to lay flowers at the memorial to St Wenceslas prompted the police operation. Apparently, at a signal from a police officer, water cannons were brought from sidestreets into the square and put into operation. Police then cordoned off the square, and some arrests also took place. The monument has been guarded by soldiers since Saturday. [passage omitted]

Several people were presumably injured during the police operation in Prague on Monday. According to eyewitneses, who were unable to leave their offices during the operation, the police made massive use of tear gas.

Protestors Arrested 16 Jan

LD1601220889 Prague CTK in English 2112 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 16 (CTK)—Groups of anti-state elements, organized under the pretext of an anniversary of Jan Palach's suicide, attempted to continue Sunday's provocation in Wenceslas Square in Prague on Monday.

The provocateurs disrupted public order with their aggressive behaviour even despite repeated appeals to disperse made by the public security force.

Full responsibility is borne by the initiators of so-called independent structures, including Charter 77. In order to ensure law and order and the safety of the inhabitants and visitors of Prague, the members of the law enforcement units of the public security force were forced to take resolute action against these elements.

In harmony with Czechoslovak laws, the following persons were detained for their gross repeated breach and for not obeying the appeals of the state bodies.

Stanislav Penc, Jana Petrova, Alexander Vondra, Jana Sternova, David Nemec, Josef Zacek, Marek Ptacek, Danuska Nemcova, Vaclav Kratochvil, Otakar Veverka, Jitka Vavrikova, Petr Placak, Jiri Fiala and Vaclav Havel.

Anniversary 'Provocation' Condemned

AU1301152189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by Arnost Bak, Marie Boudova, and Jaroslav Kojzar: "It Was Hazardous; On the Events of 20 Years Ago"]

[Text] Twenty years ago, in January 1969, our society was in a chaotic state as antisocialist forces attempted, at all costs, to reverse the unavoidable course of events. Realizing that developments presaged their definitive political defeat and departure from the public stage, they were ready to run any risk. It was this atmosphere that made it possible to provoke an action that shook the whole society—the attempt by student Jan Palach to commit a protest suicide by self-immolation.

In order to recall the circumstances of that event, we must go back at least to November 1968. The November session of the CPCZ Central Committee passed a resolution cautioning that the main danger to the party and society was coming from the right. That session made it possible for Marxist-Leninist forces to erect a dam against further antisocialist development and to agree on the fundamental course of action, a fact which the majority of society, exhausted by the perennial crisis, welcomed. This was apparent from labor activity, from the calming down of the social turmoil, and from the public's reaction. This was also confirmed by the party aktivs held in the wake of the November session.

This situation could not suit the leaders of the antisocialist counterrevolutionary forces. That is why, in an attempt to preserve at least some of their positions, they began to organize one political pressure campaign after another. At one time this meant the struggle to get J. Smrkovsky elected as chairman of the Federal Assembly, even though it had been determined that one of our three main constitutional representatives would be of Slovak nationality. Another example was the attempt to prevent the publication of TRIBUNA, the organ of the bureau for the guidance of party work in the Czech lands. This was meant to break the right wing's monopoly on the information media and thus, in fact, to satisfy the calls for social dialogue, about which the antisocialist forces were talking so much. And a third time there were students' or schoolchildren's strikes directed against the alleged reinstatement of censorship—that is, against the decision to protect by lawful means our constitutional representatives and the representatives of friendly countries against slanderous personal attacks in the press and to prevent the propagation of racism, fascism, and anticommunism as well as attacks on the socialist system.

Various illegal organizations were springing up. Their programs followed up closely on those of the disbanded Club of Committed Nonparty Members, K-231 [organization of former political prisoners], and the like, with the aim of recreating the counterrevolutionary platform. One of these organizations was the neo-Trotskyite, so-called Movement of Revolutionary Youth. Although the views of its members varied, they all agreed on one point: the demand to change the political system. A group of students, overwhelmingly from the philosophy department of Charles University, also formed an association at that time. Under the influence of appeals in various right-wing newspapers and periodicals, the members of these groups and other individuals sought to incite actions that would bring people into the streets, even if this required the employment of shock treatment. Some of them, guided by the irresponsible hand of provocateurs, were even ready to sacrifice the most previous thing—their own lives.

In the middle of January 1969 university students in Prague were preparing a strike that was to involve all university students, but which the leadership of the Slovak Union of University Students refused to join. Although—in contrast to the efforts of, above all, students from the Prague department of Philosophy—the leadership of the Union of University Students was trying to head off a confrontation, eventually it approved the call for a strike, which it said was aimed at "defending the mass media."

It was in this tense atmosphere that the seduced students decided to undertake that absurd, tragic action—the attempted suicide by philosophy student Jan Palach. On the afternoon of 16 January, when the students' strike was drawing to an end, in fact, Palach poured flammable materials over himself and set himself on fire, evidently under the influence of political provocateurs. In a talk with his friend, he admitted that he had been "forced" to act as he did. He left a letter on the scene, in which he claimed to be one of a "number of volunteers" who allegedly would act likewise.

The same day, the Presidium of the Union of University Students evaluated Palach's act, noting that it was an "expression of political protest without any further motivation." The danger existed, however, of some of the other "volunteers" following Palach in the same senseless manner.

This is why President Ludvik Svoboda appeared on television the same evening and very convincingly warned against a new similar act. Jan Palach, too, whose life was fought for by the best doctors of that time, regretted his act before he died. The act had been carried out, however, and it came in very handy for antisocialist forces. Their intention to exploit Palach's funeral for a mass antisocialist demonstration did not succeed, however. Nonetheless, swayed by Palach's deed, 17 other people, mostly young persons, attempted to take their own lives in a similarly dramatic manner in the space of

the 10 subsequent days. The life of 18-year-old Jan Zajic was needlessly wasted. The mentally unstable Blanka Nachazelova, 17, left behind a letter in which she mysteriously alluded to the existence of a group that she allegedly joined and which forced her to commit suicide, just like Palach. Much space in the media was devoted to this case at that time, just as it was to the other attempted suicides, committed under the influence of alcohol, pathological jealousy, domestic quarrels, and so forth. However, the weak party and state leadership of those days did not muster enough strength to resist this. At any rate, the departure of Alexander Dubcek from the post of first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee turned out to be a necessity.

After 20 years the same forces—often even represented by the same names—are attempting a new provocation. As Western radio stations have been announcing for some time, these forces want to hold a meeting in memory of the student Palach in mid-January. These are the same forces that 20 years ago brought our country to the verge of a catastrophe and which were responsible for such personal tragedies as Palach's. No wonder that the relevant municipal district national committee refused to grant the request to hold the meeting. There are people, especially from the ranks of the so-called dissidents, who are even threatening to repeat the hazardous acts of 20 years ago. They apparently do not realize what a great responsibility they are taking upon their shoulders.

Press on Anniversary, Charter 77

AU1701074089 [Editorial Report] Several Czech newspapers from 12 through 14 January publish articles condemning Charter 77 in connection with the plans to "misuse" the 20th anniversary of the politically motivated suicide of the student Jan Palach.

Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 12 January on page 2 carries a 1,200-word editorial article entitled "Quo Vadis, Charter!" By way of introduction, the article says: "A handful of organizers of antisocialist and antistate campaigns in our country has recently been trying, through the Western information media, to rekindle passions and hinder the efforts of honest people to cope with the everyday problems of our capital. They do not shy away from abusing even such a tragic and absurd act as the death of Jan Palach 20 years ago. They go so far in their cynicism as to indirectly encourage a similar act, as is attested by the wide publicity given to an anonymous letter received by [dissident] Mr Havel, about which, out of sheer concern, he opened his heart to 'Radio Free Europe.' The editorial office of VECERNI PRAHA has received a number of phone calls and letters, the overwhelming majority of which condemned this hazard to which Charter 77 and other similar illegal groups have resorted."

Without revealing how VECERNI PRAHA obtained the letter, the article then publishes the "facsimile" of the letter that was sent to Vaclav Havel. The letter, signed by "Torch No 1 on behalf of the Mass Suicides Organizing Committee," reads: "Mr Havel, we fully identify with the activity of Charter 77, which is a light in this gloomy society and which defends human rights, the freedom of speech, and free churches. A number of us students are determined to support your praiseworthy work by resolute acts and to press for the recognition of political rights for your efforts. As proof of these words, one human torch will flare up again on the afternoon of 15 January 1989 in Wenceslas Square near the statue of the horse. We firmly believe that this act will awaken the whole nation from their social and political lethargy and rouse all citizens to openly and publicly express their opinions and national identity, just like exactly 20 years ago." The "facsimile" of the letter is followed by a statement by Eng Vaclav Janovec, candidate of sciences, in which he reminds the anonymous writer of the letter to Havel of the value of life and urges him to reconsider his intention.

In conclusion, the VECERNI PRAHA article justifies the ban that has been imposed on a planned demonstration on Wenceslas Square to mark the anniversary of Palach's suicide. The passage reads: "The cynical 'invitation' by the Chartists and similar 'patriots' to Wenceslas Square—which was extended by Havel, who pretends to be a suppressed 'nut' and, at the same time, a fighter for human rights and whose family is generally known to have set up [during World War II] in the Lucerna Palace, which it owned, a covert Gestapo office, in which it used to meet Gestapo confidants—is too transparent to be taken seriously either by the young or the old people of Prague. There is not even a bit of humanity in the 'invitation' to Wenceslas Square; it is moral blackmail. It is evident to everyone who loves life and honest work that such meetings CANNOT BE PERMITTED AND TOLERATED [preceding five words published in upper case] because they are at gross variance with the interests of honest and upright people. We know that these meetings are well paid for, organized, and supported from outside, and that they pursue a single goal: to disturb and throw doubt on restructuring and democratization and to complicate the process of enforcing new thinking in international relations. Every honest citizen of our Socialist Republic must resolutely reject these transparent and heartless tricks."

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 13 January on page 1 carries a 700-word Vladimir Urban article entitled " Croissant Money." The article provides details on Western financial support for Charter 77.

Urban says that Charter 77 is not concerned about democracy and freedom—which are just "slogans, by means of which it wants to attract those who have a minimum of political experience"—but that it is engaged in "attempts at sabotage, instructions for which are being worked out elsewhere." Charter 77 members reportedly "receive large amounts of money" from abroad, which is also why they "are not really interested in the problems of our citizens or in the results of the national economy."

Urban mentions that last year alone, Czechoslovak dissidents received Kcs370,000 in Tuzex vouchers from "one foundation based in Sweden." Jiri Dienstbier, for instance, is said to have received from this source Kcs4,000 in Tuzex vouchers; Zuzana Dienstbierova Kcs6,000; Vaclav Havel Kcs9,000; Olga Havlova Kcs9,000; and Jiri Hajek also Kcs9,000. Another similar "generous center" run by the emigre Precan and based near Munich is said to have transferred "hundreds of thousands of West German marks to the CSSR in the last 4 years."

Urban then describes the internal Charter 77 distribution system for money and other gifts received from abroad, basing his statements on "the testimony of Jirina S.," who used to be involved in this activity.

He says: "The money and things were brought to this country by some Western diplomats, as well as by various 'also-tourists.' Lonely Lotty—the code name of Mrs Jirina S.—for instance, received DM7,000 and a Sony radio receiver in one such delivery. Enclosed were the code names of the recipients; she therefore knew that the deutsch marks were for L. Silhava and the radio for L. Lis. However, there were also other so-called Chartists on the payroll—L. Vaculik (code name: Beard); P. Uhl (Englishman); V. Havel (Ivanic), and so forth. Thanks to a Canadian diplomat, Bakewell (he, too, had a code name—Toman); a former FRG diplomat, Scheuer; and others, not only money but also tape recorders, special equipment (both adapted and not adapted), Toshiba computers, and so forth have been arriving in our country."

Urban concludes his article by saying that the members of Charter 77 who receive money from the West "naturally must do a 'useful' job, for otherwise they would not remain on the payroll next time."

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 13 January on page 2 reprints the 12 January VECERNI PRAHA article, "in view of its importance." This reprint is followed by a 400-word "jet"-signed report on an "extraordinary session" of the SSM [Socialist Youth Union] City University Council and representatives of the faculty organizations of universities in Prague on 11 January. The session is said to have adopted a statement which reacts to the anonymous announcement of several Prague university students that one of them would publicly commit suicide on 15 January.

The Prague students' statement, as quoted by MLADA FRONTA, recalls the "tragic death" of Jan Palach 20 years ago and continues: "We in principle do not agree with any attempt to misuse the event, which was the personal tragedy of one man, to enforce political aims. The act of suicide as such is an expression of a hopeless situation and cannot be regarded as a positive solution to any problem.

"We realize that the fact that many events used to be passed over in silence has made it possible for such misuse to come about. We cannot, however, accept attempts that are presently alien to us to be foisted upon us."

The MLADA FRONTA report also mentions the existence of another letter, one which bears a signature, in which a student of the Charles University philosophy department announces his intention "to publicly take his life." On 14 January, on page 2, MLADA FRONTA carries a 600-word "jet"-signed report, according which "everything suggests" that the second letter "is a forgery." The student who was suspected of its authorship has reportedly been contacted and has denied any intention of committing suicide because "now, during the examination period, he has other things to worry about." Both MLADA FRONTA articles (of 13 and 14 January) also report on statements by Prague students in which they express the hope that the heralded suicide will be prevented.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 January on page 1 carries a 450-word CTK report on the 12 January Prague meeting of the Presidium of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation. The report mentions among other things that the meeting adopted a statement on the "letter by an anonymous writer, in which he announces his intention to publicly commit suicide as a political protest." The report quotes this statement as saying that "such a demonstrative suicide is a very inhuman and immoral political argument and that it runs grossly counter to the basic principles of human rights." It also cites the committee's appeal to all agencies, organizations, groups, and individuals "to prevent similar deeds in the spirit of humanism."

On 14 January, in the "A Word on the Day" column on page 1, RUDE PRAVO publishes four letters (totaling 1,000 words) whose authors call on the anonymous student not to repeat Jan Palach's deed. One of these letters comes from Milan Machovec, a dissident philosopher and Palach's former teacher. Without mentioning Machovec's controversial status, RUDE PRAVO reprints his letter as follows: "I have grown accustomed to doing quiet scholarly work in complete seclusion, interrupted only by private pedagogical work with young people. However, I would now like to break my silence because I am one of the large number of those who have been greatly disturbed and alarmed by the report that some student or, possibly, even several young people again intend to set themselves on fire on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's voluntary death. Naturally, none of us knows whether this report is reliable but, even if there is only the slightest chance of this threat being meant seriously, I consider it my duty to recall—as an old teacher from whom Jan Palach, a quiet and inconspicuous boy, used to take courses—that, while dying, Jan Palach himself urged other young people not

to follow his example. A suicide, no matter how idealized its motives may be, is always the result of a longer or immediate mental crisis, and it is not an effective means of solving a problem.

"In my capacity as philosopher, I recall that T.G. Masaryk, for example, who is the author of a sociological study on suicide, repeatedly stressed that suicide and similar extreme deeds are rather cheap gestures, that true heroism lies in patient life and work and not in bringing others into despair by shock treatment. I believe that such an act, or even the mere thought of it or the sight of it, is profoundly at odds with truly noble humanism. If it is true that something of this sort is being planned, I therefore beg young people, to whose future belongs my whole heart, to refrain from this step and from any direct or indirect assistance to it.

"Prof Dr Milan Machovec, doctor of sciences, Prague"

Jan Fojtik Addresses Plzen Aktiv on Ideology

LD0901223289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] [Announcer] The Communists of the west Bohemian region met in Plzen today at the aktiv on topical issues of ideological work during restructuring. Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and CPCZ Central Committee secretary, addressed those present. Correspondent Jaroslav Fikar reports:

[Fikar] In the introduction to his speech, Comrade Fojtik first described the time in which we live and work. There is no doubt, he said, that we live in a transitory period, in a time of great changes. Many things which applied yesterday or which we took as certain are no longer applicable, or have become doubtful. There are things which have become obsolete, and new things are just being created. In a situation like this, sharp clashes of views cannot be avoided. When Comrade Fojtik spoke about the lesson learned from the past, he said among other things:

[Begin Fojtik recording] We must continuously keep in mind the year 1968. Worst of all is the ostrich policy, opportunism, and time-serving. The party and particularly its leadership must not lose control, or let itself be carried away by events. It is upon the unity of the party in a time like that that success in finding a solution to all complicated issues very much depends. It must act with courage, but at the same time it must use extreme deliberation and cope with a situation in accordance with its chief strategic tasks and role: in the vanguard of the workers class to push through social progress. Someone might think that what I have just said sounds like a cliche, but this is what is really most important today. If we have in mind historical prospects, then we link progress with the liberation of the working man from exploitation; we link it with socialism, and only with socialism. And it is impossible to build this without uniting the working people around the working class, without a political vanguard which follows the science of Marxism-Leninism and is closely connected with the masses of the peoples. [end recording]

[Fikar] Comrade Fojtik then devoted most of his speech at today's aktiv in Plzen to the topical tasks of restructuring, not only in ideology and economics but also in directing work and cadre policy.

[Begin Fojtik recording] We must not forget that for many years managerial cadres have worked in all sectors in conditions of extensive management; some have become used to giving orders, some to waiting for them, if I may put it in a somewhat simple way. And why show initiative anyway, if the decisions have been made for them elsewhere? The situation is to be fundamentally changed by socialist enterprise. From the passive acceptance of directives it is necessary to make a transition to independent decisionmaking, to a behavior which will be defined, above all, by economic norms of long-term validity. Will administrative-directive management disappear altogether? Not at all, at least not in the near future.

To put to the fore interests and to respect the law of value, the goods-money relationship, as we explained this at the CPCZ Central Committee's 10th session—this does not at all mean weakening central management and reducing its role to a mere creator of economic strategy, the implementation of which could be made possible only, only, exclusively by the economic mechanism. We would not get very far with this. We reject the adminstrative-directive method in economic management because it has ignored consumption, because it has supported the development of production for production's sake; this has been reflected in the drafting and implementation of plans which have become, in a certain sense, some kind of a fetish. This system of management was brought to life by extensive reproduction; it has not managed to link people's personal interests with those of working collectives and society. It has given birth to indifference, a lack of interest in final results and in good-quality products which would be marketable at a profit, a lack of interest in the profitability and prosperity of workplaces.

And in the central organs it has been connected with considerable red tape and buck-passing—added to by the combining of functions of political and economic organs—and a habit which has taken deep and firm roots: to bless every important, and often even trivial, decision with decisions by collective organs. By removing administrative-directive management we are striving to achieve not a liquidation of a sufficiently authoritative center, one equipped with the powers to intervene in the economic sphere, but rather to strengthen its role so that it will be concerned with the appropriate tasks: to work out national economic development using a suitable method to inspire initiative and creativity in the enterprise sector, so as to ensure their implementation.

One of the center's responsibilities will also be to implement a scientific-technical policy which will carefully observe the development of the most progressive sectors, and according to this, ensure the redistribution processes. It will also make sure that social policy priorities are consistently respected, that production serves consumption, that it is beneficial for society. All these problems must be solved with a view to strengthening our country's position in the international division of labor. This is most sensitive and most important because, as with other socialist countries, we face an exceptionally important task: To ensure that our production does not lag behind anymore, we must not lose step with the industrially advanced countries, so that we can play a dignified role, so that our partners in the socialist community itself respect us. [end recording]

[Fikar] Comrade Fojtik also answered some 40 questions at the Plzen aktiv from Communists of the west Bohemian region. At the conclusion he delineated the current work credo of not only Communists but also the common task of all of us:

[Begin Fojtik recording] The stimulation of the human factor requires not only the development of ideological work, but also the implementation of policy in all sectors of society's life that correspond to the objective needs of development, that evoke in people a permanent interest in the best possible results of work—their own and of society's—and in the successful development of workplaces, villages, and the whole country. At present, such a policy is the policy of economic restructuring and the democratization of society, which makes a working man its subject, a real manager, and the master of society. [end recording]

Views Dissidents, Restructuring

LD0901230389 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Topical questions about the CPCZ's ideological work were dealt with by the regional aktiv of west Bohemian Communists in Plzen today.

Comrade Jan Fojtik gave a speech here in which he said among other things that there are currently in our society processes which evoke contradictory opinions and doubts concerning the further fate of socialism. Therefore, we have to look for answers to questions now being asked—and this both on the basis of the experiences gained so far and on the basis of analysis of new phenomena. Comrade Fojtik then said:

[Begin Fojtik recording] Despite all the positive changes that are the fruits of the policy of the new thinking in international relations, as stressed at the end of last year by Comrade Gorbachev from the UN rostrum—and this was a speech of truly historic importance—our opponents have not at all abandoned their idea of changing the social system in our country. On the contrary, they are looking for new ways to implement their idea—namely in connection with restructuring. They see one such way in the use of the so-called dissidents, various informal groups. In the process of democratizing our society, in the framework of the new political pluralism that is being created, and in utilizing the openness of our policy, they would like to gradually institutionalize these groups as opposition political forces.

And from this point of view it is also necessary to emphasize the revolutionary continuity in implementing the restructuring in our society and to thoroughly think out questions of further development and a specific approach toward goals which we set. [Words indistinct] preparation of the 18th party congress. The task will not be only to elect a new Central Committee and the adoption of new statutes, new procedures, and organizational changes, but also to set a course leading to the new millennium. This will not be possible without an objective look at the past and without a creative attitude toward new problems. [end recording]

Lenart, Johanes Receive U.S. Senators

LD1201222189 Prague CTK in English 2134 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 12 (CTK)—U.S. Senators Mark O. Hatfield and James A McClure met here today with Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes.

They exchanged views on the present state of Czechoslovak-U.S. relations. Both sides expressed interest in promoting contacts in the political, economic, humanitarian and cultural spheres on the basis of the principle of equality and mutual advantage. Czechoslovak representatives pointed out the need to remove barriers on the U.S. side which prevent the development of bilateral contacts, mainly in economic cooperation.

While assessing the situation in the world the two sides emphasized the importance of positive changes in East-West relations and underlined the need to develop an allround dialogue between states, and to speedily achieve concrete results at disarmament talks.

The Czechoslovak officials explained the goals and principles of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy, in particular the proposal to establish a zone of confidence and cooperation along the borderline between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

Explosives Expert in UK on Pan Am Crash, Talks

LD1301181989 Prague CTK in English 1717 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] London Jan 13 (CTK correspondent)—The talks between Czechoslovak and British explosives experts on questions of detection, effects and properties of explosives in connection with the disaster involving a U.S. Pan Am Boeing 747 aircraft were constructive, Petr Mostak of Czechoslovakia told CTK here today.

Petr Mostak led a four-member Czechoslovak group of experts who visited Britain this week within a Czechoslovak Government's offer to help in investigating the air disaster at Lockerbie in Scotland. He said the investigation of the disaster has not yet finished and therefore more details cannot be disclosed.

As regards allegations widely circulated in the British press and some political circles that a Czechoslovak-made explosive was used in the bomb attack, no clear proof of this has been supplied. "We have been unpleasantly surprised that the British media spread distorted and untruthful reports concerning the Czechoslovak Semtex plastic explosive," he said and went on to point out that the explosive designed for industrial use is with its properties very similar to other plastic explosives, produced for instance in the USA, France, Sweden, Switzerland, Britain and other countries. Also the ways of detecting it are on the same level. The concentration of interest solely on the Semtex explosive results in smaller attention being paid to the possibility of other explosives being abused. This could be unfavourable from the security point of view not only in Great Britain, Petr Mostak said.

He added that the talks also involved a debate on the problem of marking plastic explosives for making detection easier, and stressed that international multilateral cooperation, in accord with a Czechoslovak Government proposal, is necessary in order to increase security.

Official Says Lack of Israeli Ties 'Not Normal'

TA1201123389 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1105 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Czechoslovakia will welcome any initiative aimed at achieving a normalization of its relations with Israel. This was said explicitly by the [CSSR] Foreign Ministry spokesman in Prague, who spoke today to our correspondent Gid'on Remez.

[Begin recording] [Remez] Czechoslovakia recognized the State of Israel from the moment of its establishment, emphasized spokesman Jan Martinek. We severed relations only because of the 6-Day War. We view this state of severed relations—and here he adopted the precise wording used by Mikhail Gorbachev—as not normal.

[Martinek in English] We consider this situation as not normal, and we are welcoming anybody who is ready in a constructive way to talk about the possibility of normalization of our relations.

[Remez translates and continues] I asked him: Does this mean you will not take any initiative? There are other ways to make progress, the spokesman said, as in all conventional relations between countries. We prefer to take step at a time, in accordance with our principles. Our basic principle is that no state should defend its security at the expense of another state in its region. For this reason we convened the conference in Prague last month, and we were very pleased with its results and with the Israeli representation. One should recall that several representatives of Israel's left wing participated in the Prague conference, which called for convening an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations. The case of our relations with Israel is special and difficult, due to the problem of the occupied territories, said the Czechoslovak spokesman. He added, however, that the political situation is developing. [end recording]

Liebknecht, Luxemburg Remembered, Honored

Honecker Attends Rally

LD1501084689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0811 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The traditional rally of Berliners at the memorial to the socialists in Friedrichsfelde began this morning. In this way the citizens of the GDR capital recall Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the German workers' leaders and true combatants against imperialism and war, who were murdered 70 years ago by reactionary elements.

Stepping out at the head of the procession were Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and other members of the party and state leadership. En route to the memorial, many men, women, and children lined the streets.

Militant Demonstration Held

AU1701121089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jan 89 pp 1, 3

[Report by Heinz Jakubowski, Oswald Meyer, and Bernard Grabowski: "250,000 Marched for Karl and Rosa"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—"We are honoring Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg through high performances for the strengthening of socialism and peace! Forward to the 40th anniversary of the GDR!"—Under this slogan 250,000 people gathered for the traditional militant demonstration on Sunday [15 January] at the graves of the leaders of the German workers movement, who were assassinated in a cowardly fashion by the reaction 70 years ago.

The kilometer-long procession through the Frankfurter Allee to the Berlin-Freidrichsfelde socialist memorial took almost 4 hours. At the head of the procession marched Erich Honecker and other members of the party and state leadership. Thousands of people lined the streets, voiced greetings, and affirmed the firm relationship of trust between the party and the people with banners, applause, and cheers.

The speech at the socialist memorial was given by Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Together with the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, the following members of the SED Central Committee participated in the demonstration: Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Hermann Axen, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenther Mittag, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, and Harry Tisch. Also present were Inge Lange, candidate member of the Politburo; deputy State Council chairmen Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany; Heinrich Homann, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany; and Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants Party of Germany; Heinrich Toeplitz, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany; and Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front. Other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee, deputy chairmen and members of the Council of Ministers, members of the State Council, and of the People's Chamber Presidium, and other leading figures of the parties and mass organizations joined the procession. Members of the Berlin Bezirk SED leadership, the FDGB bezirk executive committee, and the national Front bezirk committee, whose call for the militant demonstration had been heeded by the Berliners, also marched in the procession. [passage omitted]

Many banners in the kilometer-long procession proclaimed the unshakable militant community between the SED and the CPSU and the fraternal alliance between the GDR and the USSR. "Our friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union has deep historical roots," the Berliners affirmed. In this way the will for peace, the support for the GDR's peace initiatives, and the pledge to contribute with high performances to the safeguarding of peace were also confirmed. Several banners read, for instance: "With all fraternal socialist states for the implementation of the joint peace program of socialism!" [passage omitted]

The procession of the workers militias concluded the impressive mass demonstration. After 4 hours, the militant demonstration concluded with the singing of the International.

Leaflet Urges Democratization

AU1601144689 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 16 Jan 89 p 2

[Text of a leaflet distributed in Leipzig, which "seems to have been the reason for the arrest of at least 11 members of church, environmental and peace groups": "To Courageously Speak One's Mind"]

[Text] Appeal to all citizens of the city of Leipzig; 70th anniversary of the assassination of two workers leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

Once again thousands of working people will be obligated to attend a demonstration at which speakers hold the annually recurring speeches, saying that both workers' leaders advocated the all-encompassing political and economic interests of the workers class, thus also the freedom of association and assembly, a free and unhindered press, general elections, and free competition of opinions. People who are exercising this legacy after 40 years of GDR history by referring to our country's Constitution have repeatedly been criminalized.

The day of the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht is to be an opportunity for us to further advocate a democratization of our socialist state. It is time to courageously and openly speak our minds and put an end to the paralyzing apathy and indifference. Let us advocate jointly the right to freedom of opinion, to freedom of association and assembly, to freedom of the press, and against the ban of the magazine SPUTNIK and of Soviet films. So as not to disturb the official demonstration in its own purpose, we call on you—in line with sections 27 and 28 of the Constitution—to gather at the market in front of the Old Town Hall at 1600 on 15 January 1989. In conclusion, a silent march with candles to the Braustrasse memorial is planned. "Socialist democracy, however, does not only start in the Promised Land, when the fundament of socialist economy has been established." (Rosa Luxemburg)

Initiative for the Democratic Renewal of Our Society, Leipzig.

New Crackdown on Dissident Activists Reported

Police Operation Yields Arrests

AU1401194389 Paris AFP in English 1849 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin, Jan 14 (AFP)—A number of East German dissident pacifist, environmental and protestant human rights activists were arrested in police swoops Friday and Saturday in the town of Leipzig, informed sources here said.

Two women named as Gesine Oltmann and Konstanze Wolf, and four men named as Rainer Muller, Jochen Lessig, Frank Sellentin and Michael Arnold, together with at least four other people, were picked up, the sources said.

The police also searched several apartments and seized numerous books, documents and personal effects such as diaries, the sources added.

According to the sources, the authorities have in the last few months repeatedly attempted to prevent the holding of regular weekly religious services at which political news is exchanged.

The police operation was believed connnected with an independent demonstration scheduled to take place Sunday in Leipzig to coincide with an official ceremony commemorating the assassination of German workers' movement leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknect in 1919, the sources said.

A year ago, the East German police arrested about 100 people on the sidelines of an official ceremony in East Berlin in honour of these same two founders of the German Communist Party.

Those arrests heralded a wide-ranging police operation which resulted in the conviction and expulsion from the country of numerous dissidents close to the Protestant Church.

As a result, relations between church and state deteriorated at the beginning of last year, during the course of which the authorities prevented the publication of protestant newspapers.

Since the crackdown on dissidents in East Berlin, pacifist groups and human rights activists have apparently become more active in Leipzig.

Would-Be Emigrants Sentenced

AU1601133189 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 16 Jan 89 p 16

[Unattributed report: "Prison Terms for Church Occupiers"]

[Text] The occupation of the Evangelical City Church of St Peter and Paul in Weimar has been punished with Draconian sentences by the GDR courts. Six East Germans, who had barricaded themselves in the vestry on 4 December 1988 in order to force their emigration to the FRG, received prison terms between 9 months and 3 years. One young woman was given a 6-month suspended sentence. In the GDR's Evangelical Church the incident is still causing disquiet. Weimar's Superintendent Hans Reder had called the People's Police without discussing the matter first with the church leadership and his parish council. Reder ignored an internal church agreement, which he himself had participated in formulating. According to this agreement, in such cases priests "should in principle not call upon the state's security forces," unless the occupiers are using force in the church. In a circular letter, Thuringian Bishop Werner Leich has meanwhile distanced himself from Reder. At the same time, however, the bishop asked for understanding for his superintendent: Reder had acted with "heightened excitement," because for him the occupation was already the fifth such event in this church.

SEW Delegation Arrives, Meets With Leaders

Honecker Receives Group

LD1601154689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1254 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today received SEW Chairman Horst Schmitt and a delegation led by him.

During the meeting, which took place in cordial and friendly solidarity, an exchange of views took place on the requirements of the struggle for peace and detente in central Europe.

Erich Honecker underscored that a change for the better is emerging in international relations. Despite continuing complications, a disarmament agreement has become reality for the first time with the treaty on the elimination of medium-range missiles signed by the USSR and United States. Persistent efforts are still needed in order to achieve important steps such as a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States, while strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty, a reduction of the number and eventual halting of nuclear weapon tests, a complete ban on and the destruction of chemical weapons, a reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, and the creation of nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones. The unilateral reduction of Soviet armed forces and weapons, announced by Mikhail Gorbachev before the 43d UN General Assembly, also from the GDR, the CSSR and Hungary, testifies once again to the seriousness and resolve with which the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other Warsaw Pact states continue the course of disarmament and detente. The announced destruction of chemical weapons by the USSR likewise services this end. The GDR considers initiatives of regional character suitable to promote the disarmament process. Offers to Europe are on the table.

Since the conclusion of the 1971 Quadripartite Agreement, Erich Honecker said, a calming of the situation in West Berlin affairs has been achieved. Cooperation between the GDR and Berlin (West) is being expanded for mutual benefit.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the decade-long struggle by the democratic forces in West Berlin, led by the Communists, for the recognition of the realities and for peaceful foreign relations has paid off. Erich Honecker referred to trade and economic relations, improvements in the transit, travel, and tourist sectors, the power connections that have been agreed upon, the cultural exchange, and the start of local government contacts between two towns of the GDR and two districts of Berlin (West). Normal, good-neighborly relations between Berlin (West) and the GDR are part of the European house rules. In this, the strict adherence to and full application of the Quadripartite Agreement, in particular its main stipulation that West Berlin is not part of the FRG and must not be governed by it, are preconditions. The slogan, West Berlin is the "front line of the Western alliance," as well as continuing attempts at interfering in the internal affairs of the GDR do not serve the interests of the citizens of Berlin (West). Those are right, Erich Honecker said, who proceed from the premise that cooperation on an equal footing is the most intelligent way to preserve peace.

Erich Honecker also referred to the seventh session of the SED Central Committee. In realizing the resolutions of the 11th party congress, the GDR has made good progress toward shaping an advanced socialist society. This is a process of far-reaching political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes. Today it is proving itself more and more clearly how right the course is, embarked upon 18 years ago, to uncompromisingly promote the comprehensive intensification of production, to safeguard the unity of economic and social policy, and to develop socialist democracy. Applying continuity and renewal in their dialectic the SED is also struggling to become a party of innovators. It is in this spirit that it prepares its 12th party congress.

The strategy of the SED, Erich Honecker said, proves to be a policy for the benefit of peoples. Full employment and social security for all is guaranteed in the GDR. From 1971 to 1987 over 320 million was spent on solving the housing issue as a social problem. In Berlin alone a further 30,130 homes will be built or modernized this year. Thus, 40 years of the GDR proves that the people, under the leadership of the Communists, can have a better state and society than the capitalists.

Horst Schmitt said that the successes of socialism in the GDR are an essential basis for security in the heart of Europe and at the same time a strong encouragement for the struggle of Communists in Berlin (West). He praised the GDR's contribution to the security of peace and to the successful dialogue policy.

The SEW chairman explained how the Communists of West Berlin, following their eighth party congress (1987), conducted their struggle for peace and for the political, social, and democratic interests of the West Berlin population. The SEW is working for realistic alternatives, for new ways and reforms in the struggle for peace, jobs, democracy, a secure environment, and social progress. Anyone in West Berlin in favor of more codetermination by the people in politics, industry, and society, is finding proven partners in the Communists of the SEW.

In view of the mass unemployment which in West Berlin alone directly affected 100,000 people the SEW is waging a resolute struggle for implementing the right to work for everyone. It called for a new economic policy committed to the economic and ecological requirements of West Berlin and which is not subordinate to the interests of FRG firms. Contrary to the demagogic rhetoric of a free and social market economy the truth is that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer.

As a communist workers' party the SEW is of the opinion that West Berlin has a lot of catching up to do regarding fundamental changes in the economic, social, and legal areas.

Horst Schmitt emphasized that relations with the GDR are an issue of central import for every serious politician in West Berlin. More and more circles in Berlin (West) advocate that impulses of peace and detente should emanate from this city and that an end be put to all forms of cold war against socialism. What West Berlin needs is good-neighborly relations with the surrounding GDR. An obstacle to this is created by the thesis that

there is some pan-German "capital-in-waiting." The SEW is in favor of Berlin (West) becoming a city of peace partnership to West and East, and that to this end all the opportunities contained in the Quadripartite Agreement be exploited in a realistic manner.

Horst Schmitt praised the progress achieved in relations between West Berlin and the GDR which is also appreciated by the citizens of Berlin (West). The SEW is in favor of the further development of cooperation between Berlin (West) and the GDR in the areas of industry, environmental protection, science, culture, transport, and the humanitarian sectors.

The talk was attended on behalf of the SED by the deputy chairperson, Inge Kopp, and by the members of the bureau of the party executive Klaus Feske, member of the Secretariat, and Volker Junge, district chairman of Neukoelln.

The SED was presented by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and by Gunter Rettner, member of the Central Committee.

SEW Chairman on Honecker Talks

LD1601155989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1340 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There is total agreement between the SEW and the SED in the assessment of present international development. This was stated today by SEW Chairman Horst Schmitt at an international news conference in Berlin after his meeting with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State. At the meeting a change for the better, despite continuing complications in relations between the capitalist and socialist countries, was noted with satisfaction. The trend to continue steps toward disarmament, detente, and confidence building must be stepped up.

Horst Schmitt explained that the SEW is working emphatically for this policy. The process of detente does not bypass Berlin (West). More and more citizens understand that the city could exist well on the basis of the Quadripartite Agreement, provided all sides adhere to its stipulations. The SEW chairman praised the successful development of the GDR in the social, economic, and political area. The SEW sees in the GDR the outcome of the 70- year struggle of all German Communists.

Maleuda Holds Talks With DPRK Vice President

AU1301181989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Guenther Maleuda, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Pak Song-chol, member of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee Politburo and DPRK vice president, for a friendly talk on Wednesday [11 January].

Both officials agreed that the relations between the two states and peoples have developed and have deepened in all fields, on the basis of the agreements made by Erich Honecker and Kim Il-song and the treaty of friendship and cooperation.

Dr Maleuda briefed his Korean guest on questions of further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR and explained the policy of dialogue and understanding. In this context, he affirmed the support of the DPRK's constructive proposals aimed at peace and detente on the Korean peninsula.

Harry Ott, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Pak Yong-chan, DPRK ambassador to the GDR, participated in the talk.

Stolpe's DIE WELT Interview Criticized

AU1301132989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jan 89 p 2

[ADN editorial: "Mr Stolpe and the Ideal Case"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—One should think that a consistory president, as he is called in Springer's DIE WELT, is interested in devoting all his attention to religious matters. This all the more so, because the Evangelical Church has recently pointed out the lacking attendance at church services—a phenomenon which, by the way, not only applies to the GDR, but also to the FRG, as we recently learned from a responsible source. However, this problem apparently does not concern Mr Stolpe. Instead, he gives interviews to all sides, under the motto: The most important thing is that something bad about the GDR will stick. As we have learned from responsible circles in the GDR, this is a very shortsighted forward look. On the basis of his experience from the time when he was an FDJ member to this day, Mr Stolpe should not have failed to see that full religious freedom exists in the GDR. To ignore this and instead deal with state problems is, of course, not in the interest of freedom of worship. Obviously, the GDR leadership does not have to undergo a learning process regarding European policy, but Mr Stolpe has to undergo such a process regarding freedom of worship.

Association of Free Thinkers To Be Created

AU1701124889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 Jan 89 p 1

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—A working committee for the establishment of an association of free thinkers of the GDR was constituted in Berlin on Friday [13 January]. Professor Dr Helmut Klein from the Berlin Humboldt University was elected chairman. [passage omitted]

The Association of Free Thinkers of the GDR will profess religious freedom and freedom of conscience, which is guaranteed by the Constitution and implemented in reality, and consistently advocate the separation of state and church. It supports the policy of the socialist state and its leading power, the SED, which aims at peace and the people's benefit.

The personalities who were present when the working committee was constituted agreed to call upon social forces and interested citizens to actively participate in the establishment of the Association of Free Thinkers in the GDR. Members of the committee are:

Professor Dr Helmut Klein, Professor Dr Gerhard Banse, Professor Dr Willi Braeunig, Dr Horst Buettner, Professor Dr Manfred Buhr, Jochen Chowanski, Bernd Donner, Professor Dr Waltraud Falk, Professor Dr Walter Friedrich, Professor Dr Erhard Geissler, Professor Dr Gunther Geserick, Hans-Joachim Gliemann, Professor Dr Horst Goering, Guener Goerlich, Professor Dr Karl-Heinz Guenther, Professor Dr Toni Hahn, Harald Hauser, Bernd Heider, Professor Dr Dieter B. Herrmann, Hans Jacobus, Professor Dr Werner Kalweit, Dr Dietmar Keller, Professor Dr Friedhart Klix, Professor Dr Olof Klohr, Professor Dr Horst Maedicke, Professor Hans-Peter Minetti, Professor Dr Reinhard Mocek, Professor Dr Karl Mollnau, Professor Dr Wolfgang Mundt, Professor Dr Dietrich Muehlberg, Wolfgang Nordwig, Professor Dr Siegfried Nowack, Professor Dr Werner Rackwitz, Professor Dr Lothar Rathmann, Professor Dr Klaus Schaefer, Professor Dr Heinrich Scheel, Eberhard Schinck, Professor Dr Bodo Schoenheit, Professor Dr Rudolf Schubert, Professor Dr Konstantin Spies, Professor Dr Heinz Stiller, Joerg Woithe, and Professor Dr Hartmut Zippel.

Paris Chemical Warfare Conference Results Viewed

AU1601134989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jan 89 p 6

["Stan." commentary: "The Appeal of Paris: Ban Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] The appeal of Paris has some weight: After comprehensive discussions, representatives of 149 states and territories, including almost 90 foreign ministers, voiced their commitment to the necessity of a universal ban and the total destruction of chemical weapons. This is a hope-inspiring action of disarmament policy in 1989, which has just started. Now it is important not to permit any break in the process of arms reductions, as Erich Honecker stressed at the New Year's reception for the diplomatic corps. The GDR is convinced that the conference at the Seine River will give new stimuli to the negotiations on a convention on a ban of chemical weapons, which goes beyond the 1925 Geneva protocol. Even though this international law document, which has meanwhile been signed by 109 states, prohibits the use of these terrible mass destruction means, but not their development, manufacture, and storage. Therefore, since the beginning of the 1970's the 40-state Geneva disarmament conference has been working on a convention that goes beyond the protocol and whose outlines have meanwhile been determined to a great extent. However, it has also become clear that the modernization of chemical weapons, in particular the production of binary weapons started by the United States, blocks the negotiations. In this respect, Washington has now to be taken at its word. The Soviet Union announced in Paris that it will unilaterally start to destroy its stockpiles before the convention comes into force.

At the Seventh SED Central Committee Session, it was again emphatically affirmed that for the GDR the worldwide prohibition of chemical weapons assumes an outstanding place in the international disarmament efforts. Therefore, our republic actively and constructively contributed to the preparations and course of the Paris conference. At the UNESCO seat, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer presented a number of concrete proposals on how the process of chemical disarmament can be accelerated now.

He also stressed that a convention on banning chemical weapons would be effective if, first, it envisaged the complete elimination of all stockpiles of chemical weapons and their production bases and excluded their reemergence; second, it guaranteed effective verification of the fulfillment of accepted obligations and contained effective measures against violations; and if, third, it had a universal character.

Concerning the GDR's commitment to such a convention, the foreign minister referred to the initiative of the SED, CPCZ, and SPD, which was renewed last year, on the establishment of a chemical-weapon-free zone in the heart of Europe. The Governments of the GDR and the CSSR have officially submitted an offer for negotiations. In this connection, we proceed from the premise that global solutions and regional steps do not exclude each other. On the contrary. Both paths can and must be followed in order to, as the GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed, achieve more security in as many regions as possible. A chemical-weapon-free zone in central Europe would certainly promote a global solution.

The conference in the French capital showed that the idea of confidence- and security-enhancing regional steps to promote a global solution meet with a wide echo. The political will of all parties involved is now necessary so that the signals emanating from Paris can be translated into specific results in the struggle against the dangers of the silent mass murder.

Council of Ministers Defends Price Increases

LD1401183789 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 15 (MTI)—On January 15 the Hungarian Council of Ministers set out the following position:

The prime minister has received several letters of protest and indignation in the wake of the price rises of January 9. The protests hold the magnitude and scope of price rises unacceptable demanding higher compensation and the rise in wages.

The government is aware of the weight of its decision but it had no choice. The dire situation is the aftermath of the misconceived political and economic practice pursued over the past 15 years. For a long time an ever increasing living standard and the over-protection of economic units from the market were the leadership's number one target and it failed to take measures that could have finished basis for economic renewal.

Economic production in Hungary is too expensive in international comparison. It is characterized with low productivity and a rigid production structure. It is slow to adjust to the world market and has an uneven standard of management. These are the underlying causes of inflation.

The government understands that the trade unions are seeking to protect the workers' living standard. At the same time it points to the fact that the Council of Ministers is responsible for the whole society and its future. The government's strategy is also focused upon the protection of the workers' interests but it does not serve these interests if we continue to turn a blind eye to our grave problems and fail to take the necessary measures.

The government serves the nation's interest best if it creates firm foundations for a healthy economic and social development. It has a programme for this part of reform policy. It is not the reform that brought about inflation and social decline but the former economic political fallacies and the lack of genuine reform. The government cannot undertake the increasing deficit that the postponement of price rise would bring about because it would result in lengthy and general decline in living standards and widen the gap between Hungary and the dynamically developing societies.

The government went public several times with its evaluation of the economic situation and the envisaged measures. It asked for and received the parliament's approval to its economic policy.

Taking the central price measures of January 9, the planned further measures and the possible reaction of market into consideration, the 1989 plan envisages an inflation of 12-15 per cent. The agreement made with the leaders of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] also calculates with a 12-per-cent inflation. At the talks it was also raised that should inflation significantly, by at least 2 per cent, be higher than planned, talks must be launched on compensation.

The 1989 inflation rate is still difficult to be predicted, and it is even more difficult to forsee the rise of wages. This year economic units have been given a wider than ever freedom in manpower management and to tie the wage of their workers to performance. Real wage is the central issue [of] the consultations between SZOT and the government. The annual changes in prices and wages, however, cannot be predicted at the moment.

The government agrees with the proposal that the Interest Coordination Council should be convened. The Council of Ministers reiterates that should the annual price rise be higher that 12 per cent, it is prepared to launch new talks with SZOT on the necessary measures. The government is of the opinion that this can take place in May or June at the earliest when there will be more information at its disposal. The government is to speed up the creation of market economy and the working out of a price, wage, budget, and distribution policy reform. It is to initiate a social policy turnaround where the role of institutions and organizations that can make differentiated decision on subsidies is to increase.

Price rise can be avoided solely by an increase in performance and the deadlocked situation can be overcome also with the increase in performance. Only a successful restructuring and a trade surplus can bring about economic recovery and provide distributable goods. In this spirit the government agrees with the position of the board of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce that the increase in GNP and better marketing strategies are prerequisites for rising living standards. It is seeking by all means to combat wage rises without an underlying increase in performance to avoid a new wave of inflation.

Our common interest lies with the implementation of the stabilization programme. The government counts on the restraint of workers and agrees with the Presidium of SZOT that the organization will not demand any measures that could hinder advance and threaten stability.

The government is persistently seeking to create the foundation of advance. To this it is asking for the active support of workers and all Hungarian citizens.

Budapest City Party Committee Meets 14 Jan

Jasso Speech Opens Proceedings

LD1401131289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] This morning a meeting to outline the public situation in the capital and to determine the timely tasks of the party movement began in the Budapest party committee organization. Eszter Radai and Jozsef Orosz summarize the morning's events:

[Radai] Some 900 representatives gathered here today to undertake no smaller task than holding a self-examination of the competitive political situation that has evolved; to judge the work, successes, and shortcomings of the period since the party conference; to determine the main tasks of 1989; and to debate the principal questions of party renewal. The speech that launched the debate was given by Mihaly Jasso, first secretary of the Budapest party committee.

[Orosz] The speaker could not avoid discussing the events of the past week: large price increases took effect Monday [9 January], and on Thursday the trade unions stated their protests. Mihaly Jasso said the following about the 2d week of January:

[Begin Jasso recording] This week came close to exploding because the necessary measures that the government introduced, obviously, increased tension. Work continued relatively calmly in the capital, but it is most natural that Budapest's residents continued expressing their opinions. However, the Budapest party committee cannot identify itself with the fact that many people want to express their well-founded criticism and justified comments not in the solution process but rather in a different way that seeks a different solution. We cannot identify with strikes that completely halt activities, mass work stoppages, or a individual, general pay raise in which everyone receives an identical raise. It is possible to generate more inflation and to generate even higher wages, but we must be able to see where it will end. [end recording]

[Orosz] Mihaly Jasso listed the real conflicts of the crisis situation. There is a conflict between those wanting democracy and those sweeping toward anarchy. A similar conflict exists between demands and possibilities. He then listed three more contradictions:

[Begin Jasso recording] The loss of political credibility, the decrease of trust, and the organization of action act as obstacles to the acceptance of objectives. In my view the next contradiction is that we should state frankly that the proclaimed, to date almost invisible, structural transformation mostly affects workers in large industries. Presumably it is this obstacle which blocks the launching of a real structural transformation. How can the party confrontat what has been its most solid pillar or a proportion of it? As long as the party is not in a position to formulate its stand on this issue, it cannot be effective in supporting reform. At the same time, the masses of workers are moved further and further away from the party by even the politics of slow steps. In my opinion, this is currently the greatest internal problem of the Hungarian system.

Meanwhile, the nests of the potential resistance may not be the organizations under the influence of the intelligentsia which have recently come on the stage, but they may be the trade unions. I do not state this in the pejorative sense, but rather in accordance with logic. Therefore, the fact appears decisive that the party should immediately seek circles of workers which have an interest in the economic reforms. The party should seek those who can be rescued and should choose the modes of rescue. It should also include in its calculations the appearance of a militant trade union movement which really protects interests.

Finally, the third contradiction lies in the question of who should bear the burdens of stabilization and resurgence. It is clear that society should—nobody else can—but the proportions are not a matter of indifference. An enormous contradiction lies in the fact that the interest-protection organs and the population feel that only they bear the burden, while enterprises feel that they are made incapable of development, that the budget is not sufficient even to maintain the existing level. Somewhere, either the calculations must be made more realistic, the system of subsidies more acceptable and clearer, or the shares of the burden must be made more proportional. We must find the mode of assistance and the mode of distribution of the burdens for the stratum which is most in need. In the sharing of the burden, too, only differentiation can lead us to forging unity. [end recording]

Nemeth on Reforms, Price Hikes

LD1401222989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1905 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Excerpts] A meeting of Budapest party activists was held today at the educational center of the Budapest party committee. About 600 activists participated in the discussions, representing the Budapest and district party committees. [passage omitted]

The meeting was addressed by Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers. We will concentrate on those parts of his speech in which he reacted to the trade union stand concerning the price increases announced at the beginning of the week.

[Begin Nemeth recording] I know that the workers cannot be expected to simply accept their problems in making a living and the deterioration in their living conditions on the basis of an evaluation of the past. It is not they who shaped the past, for they did not participate in the mistaken decisions that have brought about this situation. But everyone who played a part in the development of the processes must accept his own role, his own responsibility, and by their honest evaluation must contribute to the analysis of the reasons for this situation and for making them understood. It is only this that can provide the foundation for the realistic determination of the goal and of solidarity.

It is easy and popular to make demands. However, I feel that to make unfounded promises is irresponsible. To undertake to put the confused situation right is a mercilessly hard and unpopular task. It is this task which this government has undertaken. It tackled the implementation of the economic and political reforms, taking as its

point of departure the universal national interest that regards as its main task the halting of our falling behind the modern societies, and the start of catching them.

At the same time, the government is aware that the process of rationalization and modernization will also involve losers, whom the government is compelled to take care of. However, it also knows that it cannot solve all this without the support and cooperation of society. Nor can the government forego the support of a strong party, the MSZMP, which undertakes the comprehensive renewal of itself and of society, and which realises this undertaking.

Dear comrades: In the history of reform endeavors spanning 2 decades, it was only in the most recent past that we arrived at the point where political reform has closed up and is moving in tandem with the economic reforms. However, there is already a danger of the economic and political reform processes splitting apart. On the one hand, particularly from the side of the so-called alternative organizations, we are facing political pressure. The alternative organizations demand first and foremost the transformation of the system of political institutions. On the other hand, the trade union and other demands which surfaced in the wake of the price increases—let me add, independently from their intentions—could endanger the further progress of the economic reform.

In this situation the government cannot give way to either extreme. Everyone has verbally assured and is assuring the government of his agreement, but as soon as specific measures are involved, people immediately become discontented and resort to protests and demands. This is an impossible situation, and I would like to state here, at this meeting of party activists, that the government seeks to ensure stability with every means of power at its disposal, that it will not allow itself to be tugged this way and that.

The government is asking for the support of the party activists, and through you, the support of every party member for ensuring the harmony between the economic and the political reforms in the struggle along two fronts, their socialist content. I want to tell you that the government has determined to implement the long overdue reforms. It responsibly accepts the tensions which this involves, because without this there can be no movement, there can be no modernization.

We are facing a very difficult year, when in the wake of the inflamed passions events could easily take a dangerous turn. As is well known, several socialist economies failed as a result of the hard shocks resulting from the price explosion of the 1970's. This is what is at risk this year and in the coming years in our country. The question is whether we shall fail, whether we shall be written off in the world and here in Europe. This is something that is, in the main, up to us. International conditions now favor the reforms, unlike in the 1970's. The Soviet Union is on the side of the Hungarian reforms. The advanced capitalist countries have not only expressed their interest in the progress of the Hungarian reforms, but are also providing help. The external circumstances are making possible the undertaking of the role of a bridge, which will link us ever closer to the developing new Europe. We believe in the construction of the common European home, and we know that in this we must also bring about the conditions for maintaining a common household. It is for this that we are working.

In this process the government is willing to cooperate with the alternative organizations and with the trade union movement as well. It offers cooperation to the alternative organizations for the renewal of socialism, for the genuine realization of humanism and of social values. On the other hand, it will not ally itself with restorational forces who deny the historical right of the existence of socialism, who have liberal or primitive communistic egalitarian illusions.

The government has begun consultations with the organizations and forces that appear as partners in the renewal of society, and the government is willing to develop regular forms of cooperation.

This cooperation has already commenced within the framework of the PPF movement, and further possibilities and forms of joining in can develop in the future. The New March Front, for example, today made public a proposal which must engage the attention of the party and government. This document raises numerous proposals and thoughts that are worthy of study and answers.

As for the demands of the trade unions, we are ready to talk in accordance with the letter and spirit of the late November 1988 agreement between SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] and the government. Taking into consideration the price increases that took effect on 9 January and the further central price increases proclaimed, as well as the free market price development, this year's plan foresees a 12-15-percent increase in prices. At the consultations held in November 1988 with the SZOT leadership, an agreement on social policy compensation was reached, taking as a base a 12-percent measure of inflation. But the talks also noted that if prices by the end of the year—and I would like to emphasize, for the whole year—forseeably and significantly exceed this by approximately 2 percent, then talks must be held once again on compensation.

The government, instead of promising reforms, is carrying out a policy of real reform steps. It is accelerating the development of a market economy, and the working out of the price, wage, budget, and distribution policy reform. It is initiating a social policy turnabout whereby institutions and organizations which are capable of making decisions on support in a differentiated manner, with a knowledge of the concrete situation, would have an increased role in

social support. At the same time, it opposes and restricts wage increases without an increase in performance, for these cause a further wave of inflation.

The trade union leaders must understand, too, that the government will not withdraw its decision on price increases. On the one hand, it has no possibility for retreat; also, it is its decided conviction that without the implementation of the subsidy-reduction program, the foundations cannot be laid in this country either for stabilization or for resurgence.

Society has truly been much affected. However, the task that has been postponed for decades must be undertaken by someone. The government cannot retreat; it can only go forward. In this, it can count more and more on the work and support of the National Assembly, whose constructive criticism is indispensable assistance for the government.

From here, however, I call on the alternative organizations and the trade unions: Let us cooperate responsibly to better the fate of the country. Let us create an alliance for the renewal of society, and let us avoid anarchy. In the historical moments influencing the fate of the nation, let us not divide strength which is in any case meager compared to the measure of the tasks accomplished. Let us put an end to the reform rhetoric, the competition of epithets. Let us not compete now in who can promise the most beautiful things, but rather in who can do more. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Nemeth Interviewed on Reforms

LD1401202089 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 14 Jan 89

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] Akos Mester has spoken to Premier Miklos Nemeth at the Budapest party aktiv.

[Begin recording] [Mester] The present price increases were received in many places with passion, criticism, and outcry. How much criticism is the government and the chairman of the government willing to bear?

[Nemeth] I think that the government's capacity to withstand criticism is adequate; for, a government, if it accepts this task, cannot work if it constantly thinks it knows everything best and that only what it thinks of or proposes is right.

Thus, I say that personally for me too, it can only be useful for me and for the government if we consult with others about our measures and when our proposals meet criticism, we must consider it in our final stance.

[Mester] I have the feeling that I worded that question rather too politely when I said that the government's present measures in connection with the price increases had met criticism. In reality, in several places they have plans for countermeasures, strikes too. Will the government take on such a confrontation in today's situation?

[Nemeth] Regarding strikes, the government cannot ban an initiative that starts in a factory or on the basis of a workers' collective. So, it can do nothing other than to acknowledge this form of protest. At the same time, I would like to point out that in our grave economic and social situation today, burdened with crises, this method of asserting one's stance does not serve the interests of the country either in the short term or in the long term.

[Mester] It is, however, a primary interest of the government to try to convince people. It seems now that this has not succeeded.

[Nemeth] It is very difficult to convince a country of the justness and correctness of the government measures, when not too long ago, society and public opinion were not even aware of the real economic situation, the gravity of the situation.

[Mester] Through no fault of its own.

[Nemeth] Through no fault of its own. This is an enormous lesson for politics and for the government too. So, sincere talk, dialogue, and cooperation are needed so that the influence of more knowledge, or the conviction to which you referred, sooner or later can be given some content.

[Mester] Yes, but for this it would perhaps also be necessary for the government to demonstrate some kind of willingness to take some kind of intermediary measure as a gesture.

[Nemeth] The government took its measures responsibly, and also thought through the tension-creation effects of this. I do not think that now, at the beginning of the year, when we cannot yet predict with precision how production and wages will develop, the government could engage in making irresponsible promises.

At the same time, I would like to add that this goverment must take into consideration public opinion and the mood of society in order to muster support, the support of people capable of action. An effective government that does not take into consideration the general mood and opinion of society is, I think, edging toward suicide.

We cannot once again commit those mistakes we made in the past decades, mistakes that played a big role in the fact that we must now bear such a weighty burden and such a grave legacy.

[Mester] Yes, but events have now accelerated; and now, for example, I can imagine that during the past few days even your standpoint could have changed, for instance with regared to the limits of tolerance of the population. Perhaps you do not see this in the same way as, say, a week ago.

[Nemeth] I understand that the price increases put into effect on 9 January and those that can still be expected during the year put very many people into an extremely difficult situation. I can also understand people's indignation. What I can promise is that the government will direct processes and create conditions so that as soon as possible those extra resources will be at our disposal in order to offer some relief, above all to the losers, if I can put it that way, in the present reform processes—that is, those who through no fault of their own cannot avoid the burdens: the old, those on small pensions, those with children. But for this, we must first see the resources. When these are available, then I think the government will have no hesitation about how to use these resources.

[Mester] Would it not be more advisable now to pay closer attention to opinions that are unfriendly to the present government measure?

[Nemeth] The enormous protest and disagreement that might arise now must be taken into consideration. However I would say that the government cannot permit itself, for internal or external reasons, to withdraw (?or impede) its resolutions now, at the beginning of the year. True, we are taking and have taken measures whose effect we did not always think through coherently, where we were hasty and only later realized the important connections and consequences that would have been better understood beforehand. A great role in avoiding a repetition of mistakes is played, for example, by the fact that we prepare and pass our proposals openly, not behind closed doors, carefully weighing the advantages and disadvantages for society. However, it is not possible, nor will it be—for example, in the implementation of the stabilization program—for everyone to be able to preserve his situation without change. So, this does indeed go hand-in-hand with rearrangement, but we must keep the direction of the rearrangement, the degree of differentiation, within socially acceptable frameworks, or those estimated to be socially acceptable. So we must keep tensions from building up to an explosion.

[Mester] I think that as a consequence of the price increases the strange situation will develop of the poor getting poorer; and if this is true—and I suspect it is—then let me add that people are right when they say straight out that this tendency is unacceptable. How do you see this?

[Nemeth] I consider it a fundamental task of the government and the reform program for us to stop impoverishment, to stop the increase in the number of those who, in very great numbers, live on the threshold of subsistance level or below it. For this reason, the government is also trying to work out as soon as possible a fairer social policy and distribution policy and to make its proposals public to the effect that the process of impoverishment in income distribution should not accelerate, but stop; and that if possible we should improve the situation of those strata as soon as possible, certainly in the short-term. This is why we are working to accelerate the distribution policy and the budget and reform work—for example, on switching from the personal income tax system to the family income tax system. The government has already pledged to make these proposals public this year. It is awaiting the observations, criticisms, and proposals, for example, of those working in science and of society at large.

[Mester] If you will permit another observation, I think that this government differs from previous governments in that it does not consider it a retreat if a new proposal is raised, if the government is criticized; but it tries to integrate these proposals, for it is prepared to cooperate. It was said at today's meeting here, you said—I do not know if I am quoting you precisely—that you are prepared for alliances with the alternative political organizations.

[Nemeth] I meant an alliance, solidarity, cooperation with the alternative organizations, their taking a responsible role in power, very seriously in the name of the government. As to what forms, methods, or paths this could have, we have been thinking about this for a long time. We have not reached the end yet and we have not found any solutions we can concretely come forward with. But honorable political competition, cooperation, and solidarity will not be to the detriment but to the advantage of this society in the given situation. [end recording]

Political Committee Member on Economy, Reforms

LD1401214889 Budapest MTI in English
2039 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 14 (MTI)—'As regards the economy, the main thing is for us to keep on our feet. The party, however, must outline a growth-oriented long-term strategy based on performance. Our credibility rests on economic results'. These were some of the remarks made by Pal Ivanyi, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, in Gyor on Saturday at a rally of party activists from in and around the city.

As regards the results of the reforms, he said, 'many things happened in 1988, and we are facing a busy 1989. We implemented the basic economic policy target of a foreign trade surplus. We advanced in the establishment of the market, curtailed subsidies and introduced the legal frames for bankruptcy proceedings. It was due to our weakness that we seldom used the latter'.

Grosz, Leaders Receive U.S. Congressmen

LD1601210289 Budapest MTI in English
1746 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (MTI)—On Monday Karoiy Grosz, HSWP general secretary, met a delegation of the U.S. House of Representatives, headed by Tom Lantos of California, a Democrat congressman of Hungarian origin. At a cordial meeting, which was also attended by Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs, Mr Grosz stated tht the congressmen's visit indicated interest towards Hungary and the sympathy emerging between the two countries. Gyula Thurmer, the foreign policy advisor of the HSWP general secretary, told the press that Mr Grosz expressed his thanks for the assistance provided by the congressmen for the removal of obstacles from the development of Hungarian-U.S. relations, and asked for their further contribution to the development of bilateral ties.

Mr Lantos said: The U.S. legislators are aware of the complex home policy tasks the Hungarian leadership has to tackle, and highly apprecite the wisdom, expertise and consistency with which Hungary is advancing on the road of political and economic reforms.

Mr Grosz asked the congressmen to convey his greetings to President George Bush and remind him of his promise made as a vice-president that he would be ready to visit Hungary. It would be very important for Hungary if the United States proceeded on this path, as it crucial for the country that the great powers pursue dialogue and cooperate. We Hungarians are travelling our own road and wish to cooperate with all countries that accept us as a partner. Our relations are not based on ideological considerations, we are developing them on the basis of our national interests, humanism, and the interests of Europe and the world.

The U.S. representatives displayed keen interest in Hungary's political and economic reforms, and the drafting of the new constitution. The Republican Thomas Coleman referred to their meetings with representatives of the alternative organizations. In this regard, Mr Grosz said "we want an open society. We think that the majority of people who want to make an intellectual impact on the reforms are governed by good will. The problem lies in the simultaneous emergence of unrealizable dreams and realistic ideas. However, we welcome all proposals aimed at improving the fate of the nation."

Independent Republican Bill Frenzel promised to do everything possible for the U.S. Administration to grant the most favoured nation treatment to Hungary for a longer period than the current practice of one year. He also welcomed some expected changes in Hungary's emigration policy.

The American delegation met Istvan Stadinger, speaker of parliament, who appreciated the development of Hungarian-U.S. inter-parliamentary relations, and gave briefs on the role of the Hungarian parliament in the development of democracy. With the debate of a wide range of topics, parliament will become more dynamic and aware of social issues, he said.

Mr Stadinger asked for Hungary to be the first socialist country to which the U.S. Government extends the guarantee provided for private investors. This would encourage the investments in Hungary of U.S. firms.

The legislators met Imre Pozsgay in the parliament building. The minister of state informed them on topical social policy issues, and the necessity of drafting a new law on information. When the latter comes into force, what is regarded as second publicity will no longer be necessary. Mr Pozsgay also spoke about the new emigration law to be detailed in the foreseeable future, and the trade union law that will guarantee the right to found independent trade unions.

Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi gave a working dinner in honour of the U.S. delegation. The dinner was attended by former Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai and several members of parliament. The U.S. legislators were informed on the development of Hungary's international economic and political relations, its standpoint on the major world policy issues, and conceptions of developing trade with the United States.

In the afternoon Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met the delegation. Although the talks focussed on economic issues, Mr Nemeth emphasized that the economic and political reforms should be carried out simultaneously within one and a half years. The leadership is striving to give a coalitional character to government, he said.

Mr Nemeth informed the congressmen that next spring the government would put forward to parliament a bill on the protection of foreign investments. In an effort to provide unambiguous legal guarantees, the Hungarian parliament seeks to define the rights and duties of foreign entrepreneurs. Efforts to create a securities market and a stock exchange have been stepped up. A special committee has been set up to accelerate the foundation of joint ventures with a majority share of foreign investors. (Ventures in which the foreign partners have a minority stake are not subject to any licensing procedure.)

The Hungarian prime minister urged that the Cocom committee to adopt a more flexible practice. If Hungary is required to guarantee by law that it would not hand over the technology acquired, it is ready to provide this guarantee, Mr Nemeth said. To indicate the openness of Hungarian policy, he added that Hungary is to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea in the weeks to come, and restore diplomatic relations with Israel in the first half of the year.

The U.S. congressmen are scheduled to leave Hungary on Tuesday.

ROK Embassy-Level Relations To Begin 1 Feb

SK1301023089 Seoul YONHAP in English 0209 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Seoul, Jan. 13 (YONHAP)—Hungary and South Korea will issue a joint communique on Feb. 1 to declare the establishment of diplomatic relations at embassy level, a senior official at the Foreign Ministry said Friday [13 January].

With the communique which will be issued simultaneously in Seoul and Budapest, Hungary will be the first communist nation to have ambassador-level diplomatic ties with South Korea, the official said. The two nations exchanged permanent missions last October and December, respectively.

Gyula Horn, Hungarian vice foreign minister, is expected to visit Seoul in late January to sign the joint communique and an agreement on the opening of embassies in Seoul and Budapest, said the official, who declined to be identified.

As a preparatory step for the ambassador-level relations, Sin Tong-won, South Korean vice foreign minister, made an official visit to Budapest last month and reached an agreement to conclude the matter at the earliest possible date.

Meanwhile, South Korea and Hungary, which have already signed an investment protection pact, reportedly will conclude agreements as early as possible on double taxation avoidance, culture and education, and science and technology.

Investigation of 18 Border 'Corpses' Continues

LD1601231489 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] [Announcer] Our next report will not dispel doubts, of which there continue to be many. Yes, it is still a question of the alleged 18 corpses found on the Hungarian-Romanian border. In this affair we still do not know of any proof. The investigation continues, and the [Hungarian] Democratic Forum still insists on its earlier allegations. Anna Juranyi questioned its representatives:

[Juranyi] On Thursday [12 January] the supreme prosecutor's fact-finding investigation began. You are no doubt aware what would happen if your allegations can not be proven.

[Unidentified representative] Yes, we are aware of both views which come into question in this regard. One of these is that, as one of our legal experts stated recently, the accusation of rumor-mongering cannot even come into question, because the information material that we issued derived from a concrete source, was checked several times, and we consider it to be trustworthy. Thus, in principle this legal category cannot be questioned. On the other hand, however, we have to say that we are extremely glad about the supreme prosecutor's fact-finding investigation. In this way the truth can indeed emerge.

[Second unidentified representative] We asked over 100 people in 11 villages. Even before the material was prepared, we were convinced that these documents are real and correct. We believed this. Why should we not have believed it?

[Juranyi] Why did you undertake to put your own prestige at risk, and that of your organization as well?

[First representative] It is unacceptable that such a large mass of people were handed back [to the Romanian authorities]. At the same time, the criteria for handing them back also give one enormous food for thought. Thus, this was the basic (?emotional) stand which launched our investigations, and we collected material with the means at our disposal. Our objective now is this—and in this we are receiving a great deal of help from the supreme prosecutor—that we should hand over to them the data at our disposal. A professional apparatus is necessary for this.

Democratic Forum Members Cited on Romanians

AU1601153889 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Jan 89 p 3

["l.a."-signed report: "Opinion of the Hungarian Democratic Forum: The Chief Prosecutor's Investigation Could Benefit Us"]

[Text] The letter of the Gyula local leadership of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] addressed to National Assembly Chairman Istvan Stadinger and published in the 9 January MAGYAR NEMZET, and the denials made by Gyorgy Mihalik, head of the local police headquarters, and by his deputy, Dr Laszlo Gal, both of which have been published in the press, have caused a storm in Gyula. The town is full of alarming rumors, as well as false rumors and half-truths. In order to collect additional data, we first approached the local heads of the HDF. Entrepreneur Istvan Marko and a physician, Dr Gabor Pocsai, were getting into their cars to allegedly drive to the "fields", or better said, trying to escape, or perhaps looking for dead bodies.

It became clear after the first question that, although the first report mentioned 18 dead, the heads of the Democratic Forum in Gyula did not come up with a single concrete fact, saying that their information came from a person who has detailed knowledge—or, one could also say, internal knowledge—of the activity of the border police and of the police operating along the border. Dr Gabor Pocsai has repeatedly tried to convince his informant to tape record his facts, and finally, the informant agreed, but, at the request of this informant, the members of the local Democratic Forum leadership had erased the tape by the time of this report!

"People only pay attention to the half-sentence concerning the dead which we wrote in the open letter," Dr Gabor Pocsai says. "The authorities are inclined to forget the other arguments, such as why are the Hungarian authorities returning 'Gypsy criminals,' Romanian citizens who do not speak Hungarian, alleged mentally deranged persons, or even children and teenagers? Police Captain Gyorgy Mihalik's statement published in the press and aired on the radio clearly proves this. I am a physician and I am aware of the fact that weeks, and even months, are needed to diagnose 'mental disorders' or alcoholism. Thus, the 'ad hoc' committees summoned by our internal affairs authorities can only draw unreliable conclusions. Therefore, we continue to support our allegations, and we demand Hungary's adherence to the Geneva Convention, so we should not send any refugee back to Romania, as the consequences of such actions are impossible to foresee. Are the Romanian border guards shooting at people? It is a well-known fact that they are; and the Hungarian press has not kept silence about this. If they fire, they presumably also hit their targets...."

The heads of the local organization of the HDF in Gyula were given a summons to the prosecutor's office for 19 January, and, according to preliminary plans, they will have to make confessions to the officials there. According to Dr Gabor Pocsai, they will under no circumstances disclose their informant's name. Istvan Marko adds that he believes that the investigation will contribute to the cause because only the chief prosecutor's office has the right and opportunity to review and judge the protocols of the border police and of the regular police, as well as to find out the location and the time of autopsies performed on such victims. According to Dr Gabor Pocsai, autopsies on these victims were regularly performed by Interior Ministry physicians, and these victims were also buried by the Interior Ministry. Thus, only the chief prosecutor's office can learn the facts.

Some 40 refugees from Transylvania, mostly young people, are employed at the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] resort in Gyula. Director Ferenc Tomeny, formerly of Felvidek, takes paternal care of these people. My young interview partners gladly speak with me but ask me to keep their names in my notebook or in my memory for the time being, to make sure that they are not returned to Romania. Both of them are describing concrete cases. One of them says that the Hungarian authorities handed over to the Romanians 40-year-old Janos Milak and his teenage son—former inhabitants of his village—a few months ago. These people could return to their village of Feketegyarmat only following a long period of detention and hospitalization. The other story is even more distressing. A teenaged student, Attila Szilveszter, tried to escape over the border three times, and the Hungarian authorities sent him back to the Romanians each time. The young man from Nagyszalonta was beaten terribly and is currently serving a 4-year prison term, probably in Nagyvarad or at least somewhere in Transylvania. There are innumerable such stories at the SZOT spa....

Police Captain on Romanian Refugees, Deportees

LD1301184589 Budapest MTI in English
1719 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 13 (MTI)—Colonel Sandor Barna, police captain of Csongrad County, held a press conference on Friday [13 January], on the circumstances of receiving the refugees from Romania. He said that 639 persons arrived in Hungary on the Csongrad County section of the Hungarian-Romanian border—either with valid travel documents or illegally—who declared they do not wish to return to Romania. Specialist frontier guards and the police talked with these persons on their arrival. The investigation groups, on the basis of data they possessed and received in the course of the discussions, made efforts to screen out the criminals, the mental patients, minors, persons arriving in Hungary on commission from the Romanian authorities, or persons not desired for other reasons. In doubtful cases, the officials decided in favour of the refugee. For instance, several persons who arrived on commission from the Romanian authorities were granted residence permits, when they acknowledged they had received tasks but do not wish to fulfil them.

On the basis of careful consideration, the officials were forced to return 137 persons to the Romanian authorities.

The chief police captain said they had not discovered any bodies on the Csongrad County section of the border. They did not find any witnesses when questioning, only hearsay of shots being fired in Romanian area at persons crossing the border. No evidence has yet come to light.

Colonel Barna also said that 57 Romanian citizens declared their intention to settle in a third country. To date, only 23 have received settlement permits in other states.

In answer to questions, the chief police captain said that most of the Romanian citizens who arrived in the county are Hungarians, but also include—in a small number—persons belonging to the Saxon, Bulgarian, Slovak, Ukrainian and Italian minorities, as well as Romanians.

New March Front Proposes National Committee

LD1301182289 Budapest MTI in English
1651 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 13 (MTI)—The New March Front proposes that a Hungarian National Committee (HNC) should be set up.

The document "from the one-party system to representative democracy", which was forwarded to the Hungarian news agency on Friday [13 January] recalls that the New March Front proposed in its statutory appeal the establishment of a consultative body institutionalizing dialogue between the existing organizations and political endeavours outside the official structure. This proposal,

made a year ago without response, is now not topical with the formal organization of various political groupings. For this reason, the front suggests that the country's public opinion should uphold the formation of the Hungarian National Committee. It proposes to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to take the practical initiative in the field, and the various organizations and movements to join the Hungarian National Committee.

According to the document, all social and political organizations and movements ready to cooperate with the intention of drafting a comprehensive programme towards compromise and political renewal could be members of the committee. The front has varying ideas about the activity of the Hungarian National Committee. One version says that the socio-political organizations and movements would be involved in the constitution-drafting work of parliament and the preparations for democratic elections through the committee. The second idea is that the national committee would work out and present to parliament the bill under which the population will elect the second chamber of parliament in 1989. All member organizations of the committee could send, jointly or separately, candidates to this chamber, but outside candidates would also be free to enter. The members of the chamber would be full-time MP's assigned to the job who would submit proposals to parliament. After enaction of the Constitution and the electoral law, parliament and the constitutional chamber will be dissolved, and the new parliamentary elections invited.

According to the third session, the Hungarian National Committee would work out a new electoral bill adapted to the multi-party system, separately for the parliamentary and local councils elections. Parliament would discuss the issue and draft the relevant law during its spring session. If adopted, parliament would provide for its dissolution on the basis of the Constitution. The Presidential Council would invite elections within 60-90 days, and the principal duty of the elected parliament would be to draft and adopt the new constitution.

Under the terms of the proposal, the legislative body should approve the law on the president of the Republic, and the president elected on this basis would submit a proposal, following negotiations with the parties, on the new prime minister. Parliament would decide on approving the person of the prime minister.

In conclusion, the document of the New March Front states: "the most important task of the country is to create compromise, and transition into a new political structure, representational democracy based on free elections. We can expect to overcome the political and confidence crisis, which also creates the bases for solving the economic crisis, only from this change."

PZPR 10th Plenum Convenes, Speeches Made

Jaruzelski Addresses Audience

LD1601184389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1511 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Address by Council of State Chairman General Jaruzelski at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 16 January—live]

[Text] Comrades! I open the second part of the deliberations of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. We will today be continuing the discussion that we began in the first part of the plenum, richer for the results of the partywide consultation about the theses. It is possible to state that this was a consultation that was in certain measures also societywide. Because, apart from party members and candidate members of the party, many non-party people also took part therein. This is a measure of the social expectations in relation to our plenum today. However, we wish to realistically assess the interest in the theses and in the course and results of the discussion about them. Some of the working people simply did not read them entirely [po prostu nie przebrnela przez nie]; more than one was frightened off by their size; for others, they were not clear enough. Hence, the decision that the discussion should be continued, this time mainly around the Central Committee resolution, which we judge as more concise and communicative. Of course, the discussion about the resolution should not mean that party cells and organizations be [word indistinct] scripted, and then its [word indistinct]. Such, unfortunately, was the fate of many of our (?efforts).

Today, the point is—above all—to seek methods and solutions favoring their fast and consistent implementation. And this, in fact, is the key to that which our plenum will finally become. From practice, personal feelings, and observations, it is obvious to all of us what the feelings of the party and society are in relation to the 10th Central Committee plenum; they have not been reduced in the time that has elapsed since our December deliberations. On the contrary, they have been roused and multiplied. What does the party expect? What does society expect? Above all, material effects from the intentions and actions, improvement in the living and working conditions, agreement between all constructive forces of the nation, many reforms and renewal. A conviction that the difficulties troubling us cannot be bypassed in any miraculous way, that it is necessary to solve them by means of common effort and mutual compromises, that neither democratization nor all forms of pluralism are the goals in themselves is becoming widespread. On the other hand, their skillful, rational, and responsible interconnection in the structure of the reformed political and social life of Poland will make it easier to overcome dangers to vital interests of Poland, to contribute to its further development.

It would be a considerable simplification, however, to treat democratic reforms as a life preserver, as a measure of temporary, tactical range. Socialism, in its deepest—unfortunately, simplified and often distorted in the course of tens of years—essence should signify an especially elevated content and form of democracy. Then, if we today intend to mark directions of further democratic reforms—among them pluralistic solutions—then we are taking a significant step on the road to the construction of the shape of socialism in Poland, treated in a far-reaching and developmental way.

People come and go. Organizations come into being and wither away. Solutions can be successful or unsuccessful, but our unchanging goal is a radical and irreversible reconstruction of social life in whose socialist model all citizens recognizing superior goals of our common country and inviolability of its fundamental framework of the political system could fit tomorrow and today. In such a context the national agreement should be viewed as a solid and necessary base for the broadly understood pluralism. Because only the achievement, assurance of the agreement on the issues of the political system, of fundamental, superior issues and also concerning the rules for their partners' behavior, will create conditions that it may not be confrontational, destructive pluralism, or one showing anarchic tendencies but that it becomes an opportunity for the unification of the Poles around the constructive, national program.

The directions of the solutions formulated today refer back to and link up with the line taken by the ninth congress. They, therefore, constitute a clear confirmation that the line of socialist renewal is being continued; they make it more concrete and enrich it in line with experiences gained and theoretical ideas thought through and, above all, in accordance with everyday realities, with changing conditions for action.

In our thoughts and assessments, we—understandably—go back, first and foremost, to the time which has gone by since the 10th congress, to the tasks which this congress set out as guidelines. There is a regional conference of delegations [as heard] to come, which will appraise this period of our joint work. But today's plenum should bear in mind all that we have done and all that we have not managed to do. The subject of our analysis is particularly the latter; because what is needed is serious, honest criticism, and self-criticism. A few of the last Central Committee plenums have given clear proof of this. During the 2 and ½ years of the present term of office we have travelled a difficult road. It would be unfair, a self-inflicted wound, almost suicidal, if we were not to notice, along with the mistakes and weaknesses, the achievements and solutions which today constitute a mainstay for further transformations, especially in view of the fact that innovative, pioneering actions—even though they are not always successful—always bring about valuable experiences. The achievement, the resolution of the 10th congress, are today, here and there, subject to critical assessments. True, we are

wiser by all those years, so certain formulations do not seem bold enough and need to be modified. This is what we are doing at present. But on the other hand, one should not forget that the congress summed up the most complex term of office of the party authorities, the one which had the greatest number of dramatic happenings; and that—above all—it adopted the first program in the history of the party, it set out the directions of the new phase of reforms, of renewal, of national agreement.

A bold and innovative achievement of the 10th congress is, among other things, a right introduced into the statute books: to experiment with party structures. This unties our hands; it allows us to search and to act in accordance with new conditions and [word indistinct].

And now a few words about the implementation of the resolution of the 10th congress. An accumulation of difficulties, stumbles, and economic setbacks cannot hide the true achievements of the past years.

The point here is not the good feeling of the party leadership, the Central Committee, because we are far from such thinking. The point is, however, a just evaluation of our political movement, its reformatory intentions, and activity. And, above all, the point is to respect the efforts of millions of party and non-party citizens of our country. Because, this did not fall from the heavens; this was not brought by the proverbial gnomes. Above all, our party, together with its allies, with all people of goodwill, brought about in these post-congress years the further development and enrichment of democracy, its new forms and institutions, the fundamental increase of the openness of political life, the level of freedoms; the research and exploitation of public opinion; the normalization of the situation in the state, one of the telling signs of which was the complete amnesty in relation to non-criminal prisoners; a series of new solutions in the system of functioning of the economy and also the administration; the creation of over 500 new associations and also work—far advanced—on the new law on associations; the strengthening of the systemic position of the representative bodies, the Sejm, the People's Councils, territorial and workers' self-management, the trade unions; the process of increasing the coalitional forms of administering power; the appointment and active work of the civil rights ombudsman, the Consultative Council, and citizens' conventions [konwenty obywatelskie]; successive steps on the road of national accord, including a considerable achievement in state-church relations, and also the roundtable initiative; the growth of activity and greater role of Poland in the international arena; the attainment of good—as never before—relations with the CPSU, with the Soviet Union, which is contributed to by the closeness of restructuring and socialist renewal.

This is but a part of the efforts and results of this period. Taking into account how harmful the objective, external, and internal hindrances were, we have thus done much. Of course, this does not mean that it would not be appropriate to do more, faster, better. Summing up, history should be written neither with sweet icing nor with poison. The past must be assessed critically, severely, but objectively, [word indistinct]. It is very characteristic in this that for the first time in [word indistinct] history, the progress attained in the theses is better evaluated by many [word indistinct] than we assess it ourselves. Perhaps, this is not even bad; but, despite everything, there is some bitter feeling, and even perhaps [word indistinct].

The transformations have also related to the party. They were, however, uneven and did not keep up with the spirit of times and the real needs. Above all, however, dissatisfaction caused by economic problems negatively influenced and is influencing the internal and general social assessment. Simply, everyone is irritated, worried about their future, and this inevitably affects also the party and creates a critical situation in it. For this very reason we must be particularly critical and that is why such fundamental changes have been drawn in the guidelines and the draft resolution. Such self-critical attitude gives our party a political and moral capital. The point is, however, that this should be a sober, realistic assessment and not simply medieval self-flagellation. Because an assessment of these years is also a subject of political struggle. We must not be pushed onto the defensive, to a wailing wall, to some sort of a political and psychological corner.

Emotions should be understood and even respected, but one must not be guided by emotions. Because we are deliberating in such a period, when it is some kind of fashion to attack the party and the people's power. Some time ago this could be regarded as proof of courage; today, on the contrary, it is proof of looking for an easy way out, or even of opportunism. Because one does not lose anything doing it, and in some places and settings this is even good style. What is more, one gains in prestige and often—as it is known—not only in prestige.

Comrades! Stalinism, this terrible tumor, which led to such deep deviations in the construction of our system is already history. Undoubtedly, however, there still exist its various consequences and remnants; their persistent elimination is necessary for both political and moral reasons. Our party has numerous experiences and considerable results in this respect. Everything we are doing on the path of socialist renewal is also an advanced process of de-Stalinization. We shall not leave this path, but it is a more complex problem. Bureaucratism and autocratism; arrogance and intolerance; heartlessness and cliquishness; and many such types of social behavior are timeless, outside any system, any party. Of course, the Stalinist era brutalized them, created exceptionally favorable conditions for them, but we must not evade our own sins with the condemnatory shout: Stalinism!. It is not enough to unburden oneself in this way. One must—step by step, persistently—combat in oneself and

around oneself all that conflicts with the idea of socialism, with the dignity of our nation. And here is where the fighting spirit and aggressiveness of our party should be particularly in evidence—of its every echelon and organization.

(?Or) another interesting phenomenon of our times: the noisy neophytes of reform. Not so very long ago, after all, they put a spanner in the works; they criticized, they pushed and jostled; they issued ideological-moral censure on matters and people going—against the unfavorable circumstances at that time—along the road of renewal. Now, the wind has changed. What is past is past; and one should, in fact, be glad; better late than never. There is only one point: a bit more moderation and modesty and, above all, real and effective reforming measures.

Comrades! The situation is changing and together with it, dialectically speaking, we are all changing. We are aiming toward new solutions, aware of the possible dangers, but with the hope too to draw the appropriate conclusions from the experiences of past years. The declared concern for the country's fate will be confirmed by deeds. Agreement—not understood in a parochial way, not on the basis of who will win and who will lose—is an opportunity not for the party, not for the opposition, not for the church, or for other forces. It is, above all, a great opportunity for Poland. We must (?grasp) this opportunity together. We will be courageous and prudent; neither playing safe nor dumb. The organs of the socialist state, its strong and reliable arm, will be on guard to see that its stability, its system framework, its social order and calm are not disturbed.

At the 10th plenum we are, of course, concentrating attention on the problems of transformations in the party and state, but not for a moment should the economic situation escape our attention and concern. This is the decisive field. The coming period will decide whether negative phenomena will continue or will even deepen, or whether there will, rather, ensue [passage indistinct]. There are [word indistinct] that this second be victorious. But there is one fundamental condition: Everyone cannot pull in his own direction. Not democracy in words, but a democracy that is responsible, effective in its functioning. Attempts to antagonistically divide the rulers and the ruled, the atmosphere of war-like disputes and unrestrained demands, must give place to attitudes of comanagement, coadministration, and mutual responsibility for the fate, for the developmental perspectives of Poland. This relates to all the sovereign units of national life, the efforts of the government, the implementation of the consolidation plan for the economy. They must attain authentic support, a transformation into a feeling of responsibility for the country. We count on it that the national delegate conference will carry out an evaluation of these decisions, will indicate the directions for further actions and activities. Poland needs a strong and healthy party as a guarantee of the systemic order and also the secure existence of the nation. We must be strong in (?unity) and in our values, democratism and discipline, boldness of theoretical thought and effectiveness of party activities. The party is not just for itself. Service in relation to the working class and the nation, Poland, is our unchanging obligation. The party can be neither a museum piece nor on the moon. Some would wish to anchor it, only archaically, in a way that will not return; others, including religious personnel, in a way torn from reality. We, however, desire to go straight ahead, on Polish (?soil), to live its life, to be necessary to Poland.

Comrades! I wish to inform you that the leadership of our party, restructured during the first part of our plenum, has undertaken its tasks with renewed initiative and energy. I believe that this will make itself felt more and more and that the decisions made by the Central Committee tomorrow will be a definitive signpost for us and a consistent pulse. Today we are undertaking problems and setting tasks which have a key meaning for the proper development of our country, for the modernization and the improvement of the shape of socialism in Poland. These are tasks of an historic dimension since their successful implementation is not just the party's affair, it is a matter concerning all citizens, the whole nation. And the awareness of the great responsibility which stems from this is present during our debates.

Comrades! The Political Bureau proposes the following agenda for our work: a report by Comrade Marian Orzechowski on the course and the conclusions of the discussions within the party between the first and the second part of the 10th Central Committee Plenum; then a plenary discussion and the adoption of the plenum's documents.

Do the comrades accept the proposed agenda of the second part of our plenary session? Who is for the proposed agenda?

Thank you.

Who is against?

Thank you.

Who has abstained?

I do not see anyone.

I declare that the agenda for the second part of the plenum has been accepted. I ask Comrade Marian Orzechowski to take the floor.

Orzechowski Delivers Speech

LD1601192089 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1536 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Address by PZPR Politburo member Marian Orzechowski at the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw—live]

[Text] The issues connected with the 10th plenum have brought about a lively atmosphere and caused a wave of debates within the party. At the same time, and this is very important, they caused lively interest among broad circles of the public in the directions, pace, and character of the transformations in the state, economy, and public life and the reformist transformations in the party. This is the expression of the system [ustrojowa] role of the PZPR and the indivisible nature of the concepts of Poland, socialism, and the party. Much depends, therefore, on all of us, Central Committee members, gathered here and on decisions we will make. No one will remove from the highest party authorities the duty to define the cohesive and unified line of action for the coming months, in accordance with the convictions of the majority of the party people and interests of the nation and the state.

To cope with challenges of the contemporary world today means that the party as a whole must go into the offensive and act energetically and effectively. At the same time it must act boldly and with caution, without dramatising [hamletyzowac], with the feeling of responsibility for socialist Poland's present and future.

The Politburo theses map out a more concrete vision of the Polish road to socialism than hitherto and refer to the achievements of the strategy of the renewal and reforms. At the same time, however, the theses present their developed concept, adapted to the demands of time, the present time, and the time which is passing. They undertake an attempt to define the modern model of the Marxist-Leninist party capable of leading in the historic work of creating a new shape for socialism on the threshold of two centuries. Long ago in our party we gave up the pronouncement of the inspired truths. It is our wish to reach solutions and decisions by unrestricted and creative debate, and if necessary, in an open argument. The Politburo theses are, above all, a proposal, a material for thinking and debate. Their intention was to stimulate the truly all-party debate, and to carry out a kind of a self-examination of the party conscience. They should result in the decisions of the deliberations of the 10th plenum resumed today, but only within the range which is essential, possible, and capable of being resolved today.

This process will be intensified by the 11th PZPR Congress. This, at the same time, is a response to a frequently heard accusation that there has not been enough time to discuss the theses. The volume and complexity of the subject, the need to take a new look at many issues caused the theses to become a document which is very extensive and required high concentration and deepened reflection. The frequently difficult and sometimes unclear language of the arguments made it for many party members, in particular those who do not come across such documents often, a difficult and tedious reading.

We accept this criticism. The Resolutions and Motions Commission will make every effort to ensure that the final documents of the 10th plenum do not give rise to similar reservations. Despite the Christmas and New Year's period, almost half a million members and candidate members of the PZPR and over 50,000 nonparty people took part in the consultations on the issues of the 10th plenum. Apart from rank and file party members and activists, members of the party authorities at all levels, deputies, councillors, and self-government, trade union, youth and social organizations activists took part in them. Activists of the ZSL, SD, and the PRON, put forward their feelings and proposals. Hundreds of letters containing many interesting remarks, opinions, and proposals arrived at the Central Committee and the voivodship committees. The mass media took up an animated discussion free of cliches and open to arguments and polemics.

The central and local party press, and particularly TRYBUNA LUDU, provided a very useful contribution to the consultations of the issues of the 10th plenum. The consultations covered all social milieux. The theses aroused vivid interest among workers and had, perhaps, the broadest response in the intelligentsia circles. Workers and inhabitants of rural areas discussed them, although on a smaller scale.

Discussions were of sincere, creative, and constructive, and, not seldom, controversial nature. Full of commitment and concern statements on party issues and its role and tasks in specific places, at work enterprises, institutions and schools, prevailed. They were always, however, accompanied by the awareness that the postulated changes in the party are a condition for overcoming crisis phenomena in the economy and for creating the foundations of the new socio-political order and for consolidating socialism. In this, in fact, the profound sense of the truth contained in the theses that the party does not exist for itself only and for its own fame and glory is expressed. It is and wants to be the avant-garde force responsible for the implementation of class, national, and general human aims in creating socialism. Only in fulfilling this role is it needed by society.

The consultations have resulted in an enormous number of assessments, opinions, and proposals, which are often divergent and mutually exclusive. Many resolutions and decisions were adopted. They were received by the Resolutions and Motions Commission. Many of them were put forward by members of the Central Committee. We are reading them carefully to extract from them everything that can be used in the resolution and other decisions of the 10th plenum. A synthetic recapitulation of the contents and course of the discussion is contained

in the material of the Political and Organizational Department of the Central Committee which has been made available to you, comrades.

It allows me to concentrate on just the fundamental questions. The line of reasoning sketched in the theses has gained general acceptance from the delegates of the party and also among the nonparty participants in the discussion. Approving universally the reformatory directions of the transformations in the party, the scale and tempo of these transformations was however specified in various ways. The participants in the discussion, especially the young, expressed themselves in the majority in favor of far- reaching reforms in the party, for a new look at its identity and programmatic offer, and also in favor of a radical growth of its efficiency.

Some of the comrades elder in age, while cautiously expressing support for the idea of the direction of changes expressed fears as to whether the proposed solutions are not a departure from the principles of socialism, whether they will not cause a weakening of the function of the party in the state and society. We are far from treating these doubts lightly. The consultation has eloquently shown how alive in the party the need is for a clear definition amid changing realities, of the contemporary understanding of the essence of socialism and the process of its creation in our, Polish conditions. This demands the specification of a sui generis minimum ideological order, the (?establishment) of hierarchies and aims, values and tasks, that remain our party canon, and from whose implementation and defense we will never resign. Taking advantage of the opinions with which the formulations contained in the theses met, we seek to rise to the expectations in the initial fragments of the resolution.

The Third Nationwide Ideological-Theoretical Conference will undertake this subject penetratingly and deeply. The discussion has shown that in our ranks the conviction as to the necessity of maintaining the unambiguously Marxist- Leninist face and mass character of the PZPR decisively dominates. In fact, the concept of a cadres party was universally rejected. At the same time, the need for a more precise specification of the social base of the PZPR was widely postulated. The conviction dominated that the party should represent the interests of the generality of working people, taking account of the particular role of the working-class. A deepened evaluation on this matter should also be brought by the Third Nationwide Theoretical-Ideological Conference.

In the course of consultations it was indicated that, specifying anew and confirming its identity, the PZPR must honestly relate to its past, to take to account all that which was and is still associated with Stalinism. This also relates to the liquidation of the remains of the centralist-bureaucratic system of political and economic power-holding though attempts to identify and specify it have been varied. Simultaneously, it has been universally stressed that this cannot imply the devaluation of that which creates the authentic, historic achievement of People's Poland, in which there is expressed the sense of the self-sacrificing work and activity of millions of Polish women and men, irrespective of their party adherence. One might add, in the margin, the discussion on Stalinism being carried on today above all in the Soviet Union is a good occasion for recalling the old truth that is sometimes forgotten by people, about how immoral means sooner or later utterly compromise even the most lofty aim. It is appropriate to add that we still rarely stress in our party education the moral principles that should characterize every party person and the whole of their activity.

The proposals concerning the party's attitude to religion and to the believers in our ranks, presented in the theses, evoked a broad response. It was pointed out fairly generally that this is an innovative and at the same time a realistic approach, showing the way to overcome the dilemmas of conscience and doubts of hundreds of thousands of party members. It was stressed, however, that the party's openness of world outlook, the acknowledgement of religious belief to be a personal, private matter should not lead to a loss of the party's ideological identity. Clericalism cannot be reconciled with party membership and, at the same time, the shaping of a rational, materialistic world outlook must not cease.

The expose of the party's new political leadership in the state and society gave rise to general discussion, which maintained an approving tone. The belief is becoming increasingly widespread, that the party should depart from direct management of the economy and the administration and become above all a vital ideological and political force leading society: the source and driving force of progress and reforming processes; formulating goals, programs and tasks; implementing them through activity of its members in all echelons and institutions of authority, of the state and economic administration; using the machinery of political and parliamentary assessment and control of government and administrative bodies. Opinions have been expressed in favor of a clear definition of the powers and responsibilities of the legislative, executive and juridical authorities. A clear division of the function of party echelons from the function of state organs is expected: a definition of what the government is responsible for and the procedure by which it will be accounted for. Many party members believe this is a condition for rebirth of the credibility of the PZPR and the correct steering of socio-political proceses and of the economy.

The consultation confirmed the belief that a strong parliament, as the supreme authority and representation of the nation, elected on the basis of democratized electoral regulations, should become the central unit of the political system and socialist democracy. The concept of a socialist parliamentary democracy outlined in our theses is the entry to a wide and hitherto uncharted field of opportunity and possibilities of the political system of socialism, of blazing new trails, of particularly close cooperation of theory and practice in creating a new form of socialism.

In the discussion, the need for an increase in the role and exploitation of all possibilities emerging from the tri-party coalition of the PZPR, the United Peasant Party (ZSL), and the Democratic Party (SD), was stressed. It can and should become a strong center uniting a broad front of the social left. In the discussion, the thesis on the need to consolidate the partnership nature of the coalition, to enrich its content and forms, to increase the participation and real co-responsibility of the allies in exerting authority, gained support.

This should be expressed in the possibility of presentation of alternative programs and co-participation in the shaping of the personnel policy. The practice of coalitionism should emphasize itself more strongly at the Sejm forum, in people's councils and in other areas of civic self-government. Evaluating the implementation of the line of the national accord, great emphasis was given to the need to include in the realistic [as heard] political life of all the forces, milieux and persons who, drawing motivation from various ideological sources, program and outlook options, and at the same time acting within the framework of the law and constitutional order, wish to make a constructive contribution to the success of the nation and state. An understanding and conviction is growing stronger within the party that there is a need to create the possibility of legal activity of these forces, within the structures of the state and not against them.

A view is gaining approval that the activeness of various streams of the opposition should manifest itself in the associations movement [ruch stowarzyszeniowy] and at the forum of the parliament in the shape of clubs or groups of deputies. One of the key political and social problems today is the model of the trade union movement, the limits and the concrete shape of its pluralism. This matter is under lively discussion and causes a lot of emotions and controversy, not just within the party and among trade unionists, but in society, as a whole. There is a universal conviction that the working people need a strong, class-based, trade union movement. The basic dilemma is whether there should be one or more than one trade union at work enterprises, and if just one, than in what capacity? The resolving of this dilemma is, really, up to the workforces themselves, but it is, of course, of vital importance to our party. The discussion after the first part of the 10th plenum confirmed this truth once again.

The views are changing, evolving, polarizing. The majority favors one trade union in work enterprises, but often this does not mean an automatic acceptance of the [official] trade union which is already active there. A significant proportion of party members sees today a possibility of a new attitude to the trade union pluralism, stressing at the same time that the OPZZ should be the main partner in discussions and negotiations on the model of the trade union movement. Fears are widely expressed that the lifting of the limitations of the trade union law [prohibiting Solidarity] would cause a repeat of the situation of 1981. And that it would turn enterprises into a forum of political struggle. It is being emphasized that it will be essential to introduce unequivocal and efficient institutional, political, and legal guarantees in this area. This is true; guarantees will be essential. The dangers are too serious and too real, and the dramatic experiences of just a few years' ago are still too deeply ingrained in the memory of each one of us. The problem of union pluralism is becoming ripe for resolving, it would seem. Proposals in this matter are included in the opinion, drafted separately, of the 10th plenum.

In the discussion on the internal life of the party we decided that a fundamental matter was a new definition of the democracy of centralism. There is agreement that there is currently an excess of centralism in the party. The proposals for new solutions, which were contained in the theses, met with broad approval. It was stressed at the same time that an increase of democracy may not lead to a decrease in the efficiency and the efficacy of the party's actions; on the contrary, it should serve to augment them.

In consultations a need was expressed for a clear strengthening of basic party organizations, for endowing them with the right to an independent shaping of the content and the forms of their activities, of their organizational structures, the right to decide the frequency with which their meetings are to take place and their character and their subject matter. All this, of course, must remain within the framework of the program, the statute, and the resolutions of the party. It also assumes a parallel restriction on the number of instructions and guidelines sent from the top downwards. In this context it was constantly being pointed out that the chance which had been created in this matter by the 4th plenum of the Central Committee has not been used.

The matter of the role and the place of the party in workplaces gave rise to lively discussions. The criticism of the excessive interference of the party's cells in economic decisions was accompanied by an unequivocal and decisive opposition to tendencies of tearing the party away from the economy and drawing its structures away from work places. There is a widely held view that the party, instead of directly leading the economy, must point out directional tasks and control their implementation from the point of view of public interest, must have an active cadres policy, promote modernity and a spirit of enterprise, and combat pathological phenomena in the economy.

In the conditions of a varied set up of forces, concepts and interests of the party organizations in work enterprises, availing themselves of the assistance of the committees and echelons, should become the centers of innovative concepts, social, and political initiatives and

integration of the working communities. Party organization while not managing the enterprise has the right and the duty to express its view on every issue that is important to the enterprise and to its workforce.

The debate confirmed that we are still at the beginning of making the party more active at the places of residence, among local communities. Controversy is caused by a proposal of party members being active and belonging simultaneously to the basic party organization at the work enterprise and place of residence. Various opinions are caused by the issue of the horizontal links and cooperation of party organizations and milieux. In spite of the statute in many organizations such initiatives are seen with trepidation, which results from the experience of 1980-1981. What is needed here is moderation and common sense. It is necessary to be led by the conviction that every form of the joint action which does not disintegrate, but which integrates and enriches the party, well serves the implemention of its goals, is and should be allowed. The party needs constant searching for new organizational forms and methods of action. Some of the activists are attached, however, to traditional forms of work, and approach with great caution any organizational novelties. This applies in particular to introduction of various forms of making more public the style and methods of work of the party, inclusion of broad circles of its members and non-party people in the decisionmaking processes, transforming of the party buildings into party houses, open to the public. This confirms that there is a need for a profound re-evaluation of views on the functioning of the party links in the new social and political conditions.

This process is progressing as attested by increasingly numerous and successful initiatives. In this context a controversy was caused by the matter of place and role of the full time party apparatus. It was pointed out that the party apparatus should not become, when convenient, a proverbial whipping boy. The party badly needs the efficient and modern apparatus, highly qualified and well rewarded. Its complement should be adapted to the scale and the type of tasks, to the structure and the style of party activity. The people of the apparatus [ludzie aparatu] in the new model of the party are universally prepared, dedicated party activists, obedient [sluzebni] toward the basic links and connected as strongly as possible with the elected party authorities. Special interest was raised by proposals concerning the system of emergence of the party leadership activists. It is universally thought of as essential to consistently popularize the practice of selection of leadership cadres of all levels from a group of several candidates, and of presentation of the concept of realization of the program tasks and intentions by each one of them.

There was support also for the participation of leaders of administrative cells at all levels in the composition of executive organs of party committees to be restricted. Stressed was the fact that it was important that the system of appointing party authorities should ensure that there was room in their composition for dynamic, forward-leading units that would be well-known and respected in their social and professional milieux.

Many postulates and points of view were expressed regarding the expected resolution of the 10th plenum. There is a dominant expectation that this will be a short, concrete, and succinct document, in the form of set-out tasks and unequivocal meaning. Well aware of this, the Commission for Resolutions and Conclusions came to the decision yesterday that the draft resolution should not omit any of the most important problems and matters which are today worrying the party, working people, and which were the subject of consultations.

Comrades!

The discussion concerning the subject matter of the 10th plenum has shown that there are no longer any taboo subjects within the party. For some time now there have been no silent meetings, either. On the contrary, much is said and loudly, more often than not in a constructive way; many bold proposals are put forward of which some—as late as yesterday—were close to being heretical and seditious. This is very good. In this we see proof that the party is pulsating with life; that its people, understanding the needs of the moment, are constantly seeking new, and the best possible methods and solutions. We can and should, all of us together reforge this ferment into the strength of the party, into an intellectual and organizational weapon for it.

During the consultations there was often the awareness that many of the solutions included in the Politburo theses and accepted with approval, were far and away beyond the records of the program and the statute. There was also the awareness that, in the face of the pressure of time, it would be rather difficult to wait 2 and ½ years for them to be ratified by the next congress. Against this background, in some voivodships and in many basic organizations there were postulates for the speeding up of the holding of the 11th party congress. There can only be one answer. The date of the congress depends on the will of the majority of the party's members. It must not become common currency that the 11th congress could take place much earlier than the time provided for by the statute. It is worth remembering that traditionally it is the most important event in the life of the party. It needs, quite simply, to be prepared for correctly. Jumping to conclusions would be premature. It is obvious, however, that the party's leadership will not do anything that would mean the suspension or the delay of that which might be essential or beneficial to the party.

In some organizations the changes in the cadres made during the first part of the 10th plenum are still being commented upon in an animated manner. Remarks are being made that they were too shallow and not always

fully understandable. But there also are opinions to the contrary that, in general, there have been too many such changes since the 10th congress and that the notorious carousel of posts continues.

Esteemed comrades! Formally speaking, of all changes which can be made these changes are probably the easiest ones. This is always within the power of the Central Committee and depends on the will and sense of responsibility of its members. As always, however, full awareness of what aim this serves should be a decisive factor: Does this serve the consolidation or the weakening of the party, an increase in its authority in the country and in the international arena; does this serve effective actions, internal consolidation, the preservation of the continuity of the strategic line, or rather its weakening and internal divisions? Against the background of discussions about the identity of the party and about its more or less working class nature, according to the opinions of some, the issue of the name of the party returns sometimes. Because we say that there are no taboo subjects in the party, we talk about this as well. This concerns above all the two words of its name: united and worker. The adjective 'united' sounds to some people a little archaic. Events and divisions from over 40 years ago, they claim, have faded and different problems have taken their place. The description 'worker party,' it is said, also corresponds with the reality to a smaller degree than it was in the past. What reply can one give to this? These are not new demands. Already 40 years ago Wladyslaw Gomulka proposed a slightly different name for our party. At the end of 1981 and beginning of 1982 one was considering not only such change but also the dissolution of the party and founding of a new one. The rather rhetorical question is: Would this serve the consolidation of the party? Respect for tradition, symbolism, historical continuity, and hundreds of thousands of party activists and members who link their entire active life with the PZPR, are also arguments which are impossible to take lightly.

Esteemed comrades! The Central Committee and the entire party is facing today a very clear dilemma: either to stop at cosmetic and superficial corrections and stop in a cowardly and helpless manner in front of the unknown, or to reach to the roots and the very foundations of the phenomena, to begin a radical reform of the party to bring to a logical end the processes of ideological, program and organizational rebirth and renewal.

The formulation of a modern model of the party responding to our own vision of the Polish state and society at the end of the 20th century and also the transformations that are being carried out in the whole world of socialism are a necessity. This will be a difficult process, quickly started, but long-lasting, even in some sense painful, demanding much imagination and creative initiative, stubborness, and consistency. From our contrary but also latest experiences we, however, bring out the full conviction that there is simply no other road. Our aim is a modern Marxist-Leninist party, impatiently seeing and constantly dissatisfied with itself, but also defending the principles of so many bright pages in its history. This party should be (?earnest) in the sovereignty of its every member and its every basic cell, with internal democracy in the coming to solutions and also unity in the implementation of resolutions and decisions. It should be a party, effective and attractive in its activity, struggling for the historic progress of the nation and its state, and not just seeking to last and maintain its power. It should also be a party that is not bureaucratized, is able to resolve current problems and is simultaneously boldly turned toward the future. Such a party will surely enjoy wide social support and trust.

There rests on us, on the current generation of candidates and members, PZPR activists and workers, an enormous responsibility at its Central Committee. We must do everything that is possible to meet this responsibility.

Jaruzelski Reflects on Past Year's Events

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[Excerpts] In Wilanow there was the annual meeting between the chairman of the Council of State and the diplomatic corps.

[Unidentified correspondent] Wilanow, just before 1800. The heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Poland are arriving for the New Year meeting. The guests are welcomed by Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State, and Tadeusz Olechowski, foreign minister, with their spouses.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Jaruzelski] Recently we said farewell to 1988. It brought much hope into the life of the international community. It was rich in significant events. Regional conflicts are gradually dying out; the standing of the United Nations Organization is growing: the process of reducing the level of armaments has been started. Representing various states and socio-positive changes are taking place in the world. Already today some of them can be deemed historic. In order for the conditions for this to arise we had had to travel a long and rather difficult road. Layers of mistrust and stereotypes preserved over decades had to whither away. The decisions behind this were difficult and required great intellectual boldness and foresight.

In Polish history the striving for a secure and independent state existence always represented the primary determinant of national awareness. Throughout the postwar period our country's foreign policy has been subordinated—and invariably continues to be—to the strengthening of the institutional guarantees of security and the existing territorial and political order. The road to this objective leads through demilitarization of international relations, nonintervention in other states' domestic affairs, and the construction of a broad infrastructure of confidence.

In order to get both parts of Europe closer together we have to be clearly aware not only of what separates us and by how much but—above all—of what enriches and unites us. This is best served by unrestrained constructive dialogue. Poland will continue to be its ardent advocate and active participant.

Soon it will be 50 years since the outbreak of World War II. Many reflections connected with this anniversary over the tragic history of the peoples strengthen our determination to free forever our common European home from the threat of confrontation and to strengthen its foundations through creative collaboration free of disputes and divisions.

Ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the highest authorities of the PPR, may I ask you to convey sincere new year wishes to the peoples, states, and governments which you represent. I also wish your excellencies, your families, and your staff much happiness. I think that I express our common hopes and desires in wishing all of us that the year which is beginning may be a year of peace, growing mutual understanding, and friendly international cooperation. [applause] [end recording]

Further on New Year Speech

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[Text] The New Year meeting between the highest authorities of our country and representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to Poland began in the rooms of the Wilanow Palace an hour ago. Speaking during the meeting, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Council of State chairman, said, among other things:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] We begin 1989 in a period of great reevaluations, expectations, and opportunities for speeding up the desired positive changes. A meaningful expression of this are the results of the recent Paris conference on banning chemical weapons. The conclusion of another round of negotiations originated by the conference in Helsinki is approaching. The final document of the Vienna CSCE meeting creates new possibilities for stimulating cooperation, especially in the military and humanitarian fields. This does not mean that the importance of the issues contained in the so-called second basket has declined. On the contrary, integration processes, technological acceleration, and natural enviroment protection requirements demand that we look in a decidedly new way at the broadly interpreted economic relations.

In order to get both parts of Europe closer together we have to be clearly aware not only of what separates us and by how much but—above all—of what enriches and unites us. This is best served by unrestrained constructive dialogue. Poland will continue to be its ardent advocate and active participant. [end recording]

Jaruzelski Comments on 'Socialist Pluralism'

LD1601150989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Let's return now to the Central Committee deliberations. The time between the first part of the plenum in December and today's resumption of work was filled in the party by a broad discussion on where we are and where we should be going. I would like now to broadcast a recorded excerpt from the speech by First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski for the party meeting at the Kasprzak Works [held on 13 January 1989].

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] There is talk about pluralism. Pluralism as a concept has suddenly appeared. [words indistinct] I will say openly that I used this concept for the first time 2 years ago: socialist pluralism. (?This caused some) discussion, [word indistinct]. Critical statements were made on the subject; what's this that has been invented? Pluralism is a bourgeois concept; what kind of pluralism can there be in our system?

Well, this is a great misunderstanding. It is, in fact, thinking which pushes us on to the defensive, for we are depriving ourselves, so to speak, of the moral and political right to use and recognize as natural in our progressive, most progressive system of government, [word indistinct] in socialism, those tools which are universal tools. Just as in capitalism and socialism we use the meter and kilogram, and the computer, we should in the same way use certain concepts which are, so to speak, nonparty, classless, but which are a tool which has its meaning and (?importance) in social life. After all, we shouldn't be ashamed of the concept of pluralism. The concept of pluralism or pluralism per se, in fact, has been in existence here in Poland for almost 45 years. [Word indistinct] is our party the only one to exist? No. There has always been more than one party. Different social forces exist—in the Polish case, a powerful Church. This is pluralism and was pluralism—we were just ashamed of the word. And it is no accident that our opponents are attacking—there is no pluralism in your country, there is no democracy. Of course, it would be demagogy on my part if I were to say that nothing has changed, for that pluralism of ours was distorted [koslawy], it was incomplete in the sense that our allied parties were not always regarded as partners; that various social organizations, which should have been given greater possibilities to operate—beginning with the trade unions, and many others—did not have such sufficient possibilities in the past.

Today, we simply want this pluralism to be genuine, so that it reflects the real differences [zroznicowania], so that it provides the possibility of dynamic, and above all constructive actions both to social forces and various interested people, so that thanks to it people could express their views. [end recording]

Walesa Letter Read to Workers in Wroclaw

LD1301200089 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] A meeting in Wroclaw of representatives of workforce self-managements, assembling at their second national gathering, was attended by invited representatives of the opposition and activists of many associations, who presented their own views on the role of self-management in the new economic conditions.

Among those to take the floor was Wladyslaw Frasyniuk. Besides presenting his opinion on the assessment of the self-management's activity, he read out a letter from Lech Walesa to the meeting. Lech Walesa summed up the role of self-management in the structure of factory organizations. He stated that the first principle should be that the trade union represents the social interests of the workforce. It is not, however, an organization for managing. That is not its task. The place for those activists who have such ambitions and who are primarily interested in production and the economy is in self-management. Self-management is meant to represent those who identify strongly with a given factory and feel themselves to be its co-manager and even owner.

The forum participants adopted a stance in which they express opposition to the plans to amend the Workforce Self-Management Act. They came out against the concept of transforming state enterprises into companies with the participation of (?state treasury stock).

Police Break Up Pro-Solidarity Demonstration

AU1401212189 Paris AFP in English 2058 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 14 (AFP)—Police violently broke up a demonstration of some 300 people in the streets of Walbryzych, southwest Poland, demanding the legalisation of the outlawed trade union Solidarity, sources at the scene said on Saturday.

Some 30 people were arrested, but most were released a few hours after Friday's demonstration, the sources said.

Meanwhile Solidarity chairman Lech Walesa told some 25 representatives of various groups and youth movements, students and shipyard workers that he was opposed to violence in shows of hostility to the government.

He told them at Gdansk on Friday that he was for street demonstrations, on condition that these were peaceful, and praised in particular the method of the "Alernative Orange" Youth Movement.

This movement, which originated in the town of Wroclaw, ridicules the authorities in its demonstrations.

Mr. Walesa at the same time announced that he intended to name the long-standing opposition militant Bogdan Borusewicz as head of the Solidarity organisation for the Gdansk region, where the independent union was born.

He also suggested nomination of a permanent youth representative to the regional leadership.

Government Statement on Vienna CSCE Document
AU1501182889 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna—During the Sunday plenum, when the representatives of the 33 European states, the United States, and Canada endorsed the final document of the reunion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in Vienna, the Romanian delegation presented the "Statement of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Relation to the Final Document of the Vienna CSCE Reunion." The Romanian statement was released as a document of the Vienna Reunion. Here is the full text of the statement:

Romania participated in the proceedings of the Vienna all-European reunion inspired by the wish to make a contribution to improving confidence, security, and cooperation in the continent, so that a new scope may be given to the relations among the European countries, in the spirit of and in keeping with the Helsinki Final Act, and which should be based on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs and mutual advantage, for each people's right to decide independently its path of economic and social development.

Related to the final document of the reunion, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania is empowered to state the following:

As a whole, the final document carries important provisions whose implementation will be of a nature to contribute to better understanding and collaboration among our peoples, to strengthening confidence, peace, and security in the continent and all over the world. Romania particularly stresses the importance of the provisions in the final document which regard negotiations on diminishing the armed forces and conventional arms, and considers they have to be conducted among independent and sovereign states, based on fully equal rights, within the CSCE process, and with observance of its democratic rules of procedure. We believe it is necessary that all the European states should be able to participate in these negotiations and the measures to be reached should take into account the interests of all these states in point of security.

Romania also believes that as concerns the development of collaboration and cooperation in the areas of economy, science, technology, avoiding pollution, and saving the environment, the final document carries acceptable provisions, although in our opinion they could have been more committing, could have set out more firmly from the colossal gains of science, knowledge, and culture, from the level attained in the development of the forces of production.

As concerns human rights, the final document of the reunion carries a number of important provisions with which Romania agrees. Yet, we regret that in this document there have not been written down adequately, as firm pledges of the states, some of the proposals of our country regarding a number of fundamental principles of human rights and of humanitarian problems such as: the states' commitment to provide a job to each citizen in the country and eradicate unemployment; the professional training, education of the youth and providing them jobs and human living conditions; the right to equal pay for equal work; creating adequate housing conditions for each family; wide access for the entire population to the gains of modern science and technology; providing dignified, civilized living conditions to all the citizens.

At the same time, under the pretext of the so-called interest in human rights and religious freedom, provisions have been introduced and maintained in the document which are not in agreement with the principles and the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, with the facts of the epoch we are living in, and run counter to some international norms and regulations to which the states have adhered. Such provisions may open the way to interference in the domestic affairs of other states, and may stimulate and encourage obscurantist, retrograde activities. Also maintained are provisions which in fact stimulate emigration and encourage brain drain, hurting the interests of the peoples' economic and social development, first of all of the less developed ones.

During the proceedings of the reunion, Romania presented its observations and reservations, by chapters, showing in a concrete way which were the issues that were not adequately mirrored by the document, observations, and reservations it now maintains.

Taking all these into account, the Romanian delegation declares that Romania takes no pledge to carry out those provisions in the final document for which it presented amendments, which were not accepted, provisions which it views to be inadequate. Romania ensured and is actually ensuring the full exertion of the fundamental human liberties and rights written down in the country's constitution, creates all the conditions for all the citizens to benefit by them, with no discrimination, in a framework of wide, real democracy, which enables the whole people to participate directly in the management of all sectors of economic and social life, of the whole society.

But considering that as a whole the document carries provisions that are important for strengthening security and developing collaboration in Europe, and as it wishes to contribute to the effort for the further promotion of the goals underwritten by our states, the Romanian delegation is empowered to become associated—with the mentioned reservations—in the consensus for the endorsement of the draft final document.

Romania reasserts its stand, also expressed during proceedings, that all the provisions in this document, as mentioned in its very contents, will have to be applied within the constitutional framework of each country's domestic legislation and provisions, of its traditions and specific circumstances, and at the same time in a spirit of cooperation, with the strict observance of the principles of relations among the participant states.

Romania will do its utmost in order to contribute, also in the future, to the development of collaboration and strengthening confidence and security in the continent; for a united Europe with different social systems; a Europe of free, independent, and sovereign states; of economic and social progress, collaboration, and peace; which should play an ever more important part in the general development of the contemporary world.

The Romanian delegation asks the secretariat of the conference to release, according to paragraph 79 of the procedure provisions, the present statement as Romania's "Reservations and Interpretative Statements" in relation to the general acceptance of the final document of the Vienna reunion.

Visit of Chinese Foreign Minister Detailed

Welcomed by Totu

AU1401200889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1938 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/01/1989—On 14 January, in the evening, Qian Qichen, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of China, arrived in Bucharest on an official visit to Romania.

On arrival, the guest was welcomed by Ioan Totu, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, and other officials, at the Otopeni Airport.

Discusses Ties With Ceausescu

AU1601190189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1842 GMT 16 Jan 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives Qian Qichen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/1/1989—During his stay in Bucharest, the foreign minister of the People's Republic of China, Qian Qichen, was received by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania.

On the occasion, Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed the best wishes on behalf of Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Military Commission of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, Yang Shangkun, president of the People's Republic of China, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. Thanking, Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed the Chinese leaders his warm salute and the best wishes.

During the interview, emphasis was placed on the traditional links of friendship between the two parties, countries and peoples, which, in the spirit of the understandings reached at top level, develop continuously on the most diverse planes. The visit was recalled which President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu paid to Beijing last year, along with the talks conducted and the understanding reached on the occasion with the Chinese party and state leaders.

It was considered that the further development of the Romanian-Chinese relations both bilaterally and in the international arena was in the interest and for the benefit of the two peoples, of socialist construction in the two countries, of the cause of peace and understanding throughout the world.

Current aspects of the international life were approached, special attention being paid to questions related to the achievement of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place. President Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated Romania's stance on the need to liquidate chemical weapons, as a component part of a package of measures aimed at concomitantly eliminating nuclear arms, all means of mass destruction. Stress was also laid on the imperative of solving, by peaceful means, through negotiations, the states of tension and conflict in various parts of the world, of eradicating underdevelopment, establishing a new world economic order and ensuring the independent development of all countries.

The RCP and Romanian state leader pointed out that under the current circumstances, when the international life continues to be complex, contradictory and serious, the fight and actions of all peoples, of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces should intensify to make a fundamental change in the international political life, to build a climate of detente, security and peace, of confidence and broad collaboration among all world nations.

The guest highlighted the high appreciation the foreign policy promoted by Socialist Romania, its efforts for the achievement of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, for the extinction of the hotbeds of conflict in various regions of the world and the strengthening of peace and collaboration among peoples enjoy in the People's Republic of China. [sentence as received]

The interview was attended by Ioan Totu, Romanian minister of foreign affairs.

Ends Visit, Departs

AU1601173889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1547 GMT 16 Jan 89

["Visit by the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China to Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/1/1989—Over January 14-16, the foreign minister of the People's Republic of China, Qian Qichen, paid an official visit to Romania.

During his visit, the Chinese guest conducted talks with the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Ioan Totu. He also saw round social units and residential districts in the Romanian capital city.

On Monday, January 16, upon departure from Bucharest, the guest was seen off to the Otopeni Airport by the Romanian foreign minister and other officials.

Interior Ministry Aktiv Cables Ceausescu

AU1701081589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jan 89 p 5

["Cable Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General, President of the SR of Romania, and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, by Participants in the Accountability Meeting of the Command and Party Aktiv of the Ministry of Interior"]

[Text] The command and party aktiv of the Ministry of Interior has held an accountability meeting which examined, in a spirit of high communist responsibility, the activity carried out in 1988 to defend, with vigilance and firmness, the revolutionary achievements of our socialist nation, the national wealth, public order and quiet, the legal rights and interests of the citizens, and the independence and sovereignty of the fatherland.

In an atmosphere of profound enthusiasm, the participants in the meeting—on behalf of the entire personnel of the Ministry of Interior—extended to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the SR of Romania, and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, a cable which reads:

Much Esteemed and Beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,

In complete unity of thought and feeling with all the people—who are fully engaged in implementing, in an exemplary manner, the historic decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP and applying the theses, guidelines, and ideas of priceless theoretical and practical value included in your brilliant speech, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the joint meeting of the RCP Central Committee plenum, the democratic bodies, and other mass and public organizations as well as in your New Year's Message to the Romanian nation—the command and party aktiv of the Ministry of Interior held an accountability meeting which examined, in a spirit of high communist and revolutionary exactingness and on the basis of your guidelines and recommendations, the activity carried out in 1988 to firmly defend, under the leadership of the party, our revolutionary achievements, national wealth, and public order and quiet, in the spirit of party decisions and of provisions of the law.

Voicing the sentiments that inspire all Communists and the entire personnel of the Ministry of Interior, the participants in the accountability meeting wholeheartedly express, on this occasion, too, their feelings of boundless love and ardent devotion to the fatherland, party, and people and to you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Supreme Commander, brilliant leader of our party and state, greatest statesman in our nation's history, fiery patriot, consistent revolutionary, and prominent personality of the contemporary world. Your name is closely linked with all great achievements in the period of socialist construction of the country, a period which is named with profound regard and lively gratitude the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era."

Likewise, we pay warm homage to the much esteemed Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, front-ranking militant of our party and state and scholar of large international renown, who is carrying out a tireless and fruitful activity to work out and implement the programs for the country's socioeconomic development, to promote the ceaseless expansion of the Romanian science, education, and culture, to enrich to heritage of universal knowledge, and to place the achievements of the human genius in the service of peace and progress for the whole mankind.

Examining, in a spirit of communist responsibility, the results obtained thus far and the tasks arising from party decisions, from the country's laws, and from your monumental social and political work, the participants in the Ministry of Interior's accountability meeting pointed out existing shortcomings and deficiencies in a critical and self-critical spirit of party exactingness—a guarantee of the fact that all necessary conclusions were drawn from various deficiencies—and established appropriate measures to further improve and raise the quality and efficiency of the entire activity.

On the basis of your precious guidelines and recommendations and of the conclusions and tasks arising from the resolution adopted by the 28-30 November 1988 high forum of our revolutionary workers democracy, we fully pledge, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Supreme Commander, to work to develop and enhance the revolutionary spirit of work responsibility in all its aspects, to unflinchingly apply the principles of party work and the provisions of the country's laws, and to strengthen order and discipline, thus constantly raising the operative capability of all units and formations of the Ministry of Interior.

Fully aware of the important tasks and missions entrusted to us by the party, people, and yourself personally, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Supreme Commander, we are firmly determined to act with all our ability and energy and with greater combativeness and vigilance—under the leadership and constant guidance of the party, in close cooperation with the working people and the bodies of our revolutionary workers democracy, and in the spirit of party decisions and the country's laws—to resolutely defend the national economy, prevent damages, ensure public order and quiet, and fully observe socialist legality and social coexistence norms.

We will pay greater attention to: increasing the leading political role of party bodies and organizations in the life of units and subunits; raising the level of all-round readiness and developing the political and professional qualities of the forces; promoting with greater consistency an exacting climate of work and statutory order and discipline; and unflinchingly implementing the principles and norms of socialist ethics and equity.

Constantly inspired by your bright example of work and life, of ardent self-denial and patriotism, and of revolutionary passion and devotion, we assure you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that we will take resolute and energetic steps to implement the historic decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP as well as your valuable orders, guidelines, and recommendations, thus making an even greater contribution, together with all our people, to defending our society's material and cultural values and ceaselessly raising Socialist Romania to the highest peaks of progress and civilization.

Now, at the beginning of the new year, when all the Romanian people are preparing to celebrate—with the most profound sentiments of esteem, respect, patriotic pride, and lively gratitude—the anniversary of your birthday and of more than 55 years of heroic revolutionary activity as well as the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, and when the the entire Romanian nation is ready to meet the 14th RCP Congress with new successes in work, we beg you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Supreme Commander to allow us to pay you a warm and respectful soldier's homage and extend to you best wishes for health, happiness, inexhaustible energy, and many bright years at the head of the party and state, to the benefit and the continuous flourishing of our beloved fatherland, the SR of Romania!

We salute you, Comrade Supreme Commander!

The command and party aktiv of the Ministry of Interior

Press Marks Anniversary of Treaty With Bulgaria

AU1601135089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0933 GMT 16 Jan 89

["Positive Evolution of Romanian-Bulgarian Ties"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/1/1989—Marking the 41st anniversary since the conclusion of the first Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance Between Romania and Bulgaria, the Romanian press points to the particular importance of this document, the first signed by Romania after the establishment of the people's power.

SCINTEIA points out that it had greatly and positively influenced the development of the bilateral links as a whole. "The increasingly growing course of the Romanian-Bulgarian multilateral links in the years of socialist construction," ROMANIA LIBERA shows, "conspicuously evince the lastingness of the principles underlying the bonds between Romania and Bulgaria—the principles of equal rights, respect of national sovereignty and independence, non-interference in home affairs and mutual advantage, respect of each people's right to free and self-reliant development."

Referring to the new treaty of 1971, which laid the foundations of the intensification of bilateral cooperation in another historical stage, and to important joint documents signed along the years by Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov, the papers make an analysis of the stage of the Romanian-Bulgarian ties, shown to have registered an increasingly growing course, expanding on multiple planes. An important role, SCINTEIA underscores, is played by economic cooperation, cooperation and specialization in production in particular. In context, the papers point out that efforts should be further made to jointly capitalize the hydropower potential of the Danube.

Both papers underline that the provisions in the bilateral documents are also carried into effect in the fruitful Romanian-Bulgarian international collaboration and in the development of inter-Balkan relationships, in the actions for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of good neighbourhood, understanding and peace, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, of foreign military bases.

Ceausescu Congratulates DKP's Mies on Reelection

AU1301115389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Jan 89 p 5

[Message from RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to DKP Chairman Herbert Mies, on his reelection to office]

[Text] To Comrade Herbert Mies, DKP chairman

Esteemed Comrade Herbert Mies: On the occasion of your reelection to office as DKP chairman, I convey to you warm greetings and best wishes for new successes in the highly responsible function bestowed to you.

I express my belief that the relations of friendship and solidarity between the RCP and the DKP will continue to develop, in the common interest of the cause of socialism, peace, security, and cooperation throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

Leaders' Public Appearances for 7-14 Jan

AU1401193589 [Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 7-14 January period (sources of each report given in paranthesis):

President Nicolae Ceausescu, Elena Ceausescu, PEC Member Emil Bobu, and PEC Member Manea Manescu attended a ceremony during which Elena Ceausescu was awarded the title of Hero of the SR of Romania; Elena Ceausescu made a speech at the ceremony, in Bucharest on 7 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1243 GMT 7 Jan 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu attended a luncheon given by the PEC in honor of Elena Ceausescu on her birthday, in Bucharest on 7 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1603 GMT 7 Jan 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received the credentials of Klaus Terfloth, the new FRG ambassador to Romania, in Bucharest on 9 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 9 Jan 89). Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a meeting with leading cadres in ministries and central institution, in Bucharest on 10 January (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 10 Jan 89) and chaired and addressed a PEC meeting in Bucharest on 13 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2106 GMT 13 Jan 89)

Elena Ceausescu, PEC member and first deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government, received delegations of various political and cultural bodies, who congratulated her on birthday, in Bucharest on 7 January. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 8 Jan 89)

PEC Member Constantin Olteanu met with PCE President Dolores Ibarruri (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1817 GMT 13 Jan 89) and with PCE General Secretary Julio Anguita, in Madrid on 13 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1819 GMT 13 Jan 89)

Ion Stoian, candidate PEC member, attended a reception given by the Palestinian charge d'affairs in Romania on the anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, in Bucharest on 10 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1906 GMT 10 Jan 89)

Nicolae Mihalache, member of the RCP Central Committee was received by DKP Chairman Herbert Mies, in Bonn on 9 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1557 GMT 9 Jan 89)

Ioan Totu, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee and Romanian foreign minister, addressed the Paris conference on banning chemical weapons. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1740 GMT 9 Jan 89). On 11 January he addressed the concluding session of the Paris Conference. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2021 GMT 11 Jan 89)

Crowds Gather While Montenegrin Government Meets

AU1601110989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] The people taking part in the protest meeting in Titograd are dissatisfied with the position of the Presidium of the Central Committee of LC Montenegro primarily because the decision on the collective resignation of the Presidium and the executive secretaries is being postponed until 12 January. An extraordinary session of the Central Committee will be held on that day. The people taking part in the protest meeting are gathered in the square in front of the republican assembly. Zivojin Jerotijevic reports from Titograd:

At this moment, a session of the caretaker Executive Council of Montenegro is in progress behind closed doors. A statement is expected. At about 2000 hours, Momir Bulatovic, member of the organization committee of the protest gathering, presented the positions from an extraordinary session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of LC of Montenegro. That caused indignation among those gathered, primarily because the political leadership of the republic abstained from communicating with the people, as well as because of the position that the decision of the resignation of the Central Committee Presidium and its executive secretaries will be postponed until 12 January, when an extraordinary session of the Central Committee will be held.

Considering the wording of the statement, one gets the impression that the resignations have in fact been tendered, but that they will be decided upon in the legitimate way. The part of the statement saying that at its session, the Central Committee will adopt a political stance on the resignation of the Montenegro member of the Presidium and the executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee from Montenegro was not well received.

The suggestion that an early congress of Montenegrin Communists be held in the course of the year as soon as possible was stormily welcomed.

Mazic Reinstated to Montenegro Central Committee

LD1201040989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2122 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—This evening, the Montenegrin LC Central Committee reinstated Biljana Mazic to membership.

Thereby the party forum corrected a statutory mistake from the last session, when it decided that Biljana Mazic, although she did not require it in writing, would be replaced in the forthcoming renewal of the Central Committee.

Titograd Municipal Assembly Officials Resign

LD1401143789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1338 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—Ratko Ivanovic and Dragan Mijajlovic, president and vice president, respectively, of the Titograd Municipal Assembly, today submitted their irrevocable resignations. Resignations were also tendered by the presidents of the Assembly chambers [passage omitted]. All the members of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Montenegrin capital also resigned.

These resignations will be discussed by the delegates of the Titograd Municipal Assembly during their emergency session set for 17 January.

More on Resignations

LD1401144289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Titograd, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Municipal Committee of the LC of Titograd and its secretary, Omer Cirgic, today tendered their resignations. These resignations will be discussed by the party organization in the Montenegrin capital during its session tomorrow.

During the emergency session of the Municipal Committee of the LC of Titograd today, the five executive secretaries also submitted their resignations.

Dragan Miljonic, president of the Municipal Committee of the LC of Titograd, resigned yesterday. [passage omitted]

'Several Hundred' Protest in Danilovgrad

AU1601091689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Several hundred workers from the radiator factory and other collectives in Danilovgrad gathered this morning in the square in front of the monument to fallen war heroes in Danilovgrad to demand the resignation of the communal leadership and extraordinary elections in Montenegro.

The workers were later joined by veterans and young people from Danilovgrad.

Dizdarevic, Suvar Criticized in Montenegro

AU1601190089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] At its extraordinary session held today, the Republican Conference of the Titograd SAWP accepted the resignation of its Presidium and the secretary of the Presidium. The duty of the Presidium was entrusted to a group of 11 members until the election of a new Presidium. The work of the Presidium will be coordinated by

Dragan Milic. Some 27 delegates took part in the discussion. In contrast to earlier sessions, the majority of the delegates expressed the goals of their grassroot supporters.

Today, a large rally was also held in Danilovgrad. The top officials of the communal assembly, the communal committee of the LC, the SAWP conference, and the communal trade union organization were replaced. At this rally, as at many other rallies in the republics, the participants called on Raif Dizdarevic and Stipe Suvar to account for their attitudes toward the workers' protests in Montenegro and the use of force near Zuta Greda.

Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Holds Session

LD1301221589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Coratian 1147 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 13 Jan (TANJUG)—With the fall of the leadership of the Vojvodina LC last October there was a decisive beginning of the settling of accounts with a policy which was condemned and rejected. But the policy which was disputed most drastically by the will of the people and their emergence on to the political scene had its representatives in many environments and at various levels of the party and state organizations in Vojvodina.

This was stressed today at the beginning of his introductory report by Predrag Markov at a session of the Vojvodiona LC Provincial Committee. The most senior leadership of the Vojvodina Communists is today considering and establishing a draft critical assessment of the ideopolitical measures for several of the most prominent members of the previous leadership and will also consider a list of possible candidates for the provincial committee and representatives of the Vojvodina LC in the LCY Central Committee and the Serbian LC Central Committee, about which delegates will make a definitive statement at the end of next week at the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC.

In his introductory report—which was marked by an explanation and critical assessment, and also a draft, of the immediate tasks of the Vojvodina LC in overcoming the current ideopolitical situation in the province—Markov stressed that in all environments processes of ideopolitical differentiation have begun and that these processes are being led and borne by the forces for democratic change in the Vojvodina LC and the province as a whole.

This process, Markov continued, has already yielded significant results and opened up large prospects for cadre renewal in the LC. It is insisted in all environments that the process of ideopolitical differentiation must not be replaced be cadre renewal. On the contrary, attention is drawn to the fact that cadre renewal is the extension of the primary process of the principled and consistent realization of ideopolitical differentiation. [passage omitted]

All this confirms, in the opinion of Predrag Markov, member of the LC Provincial Committee Presidium, that such forces exist in Vojvodina, Serbia, and in general which are ready and able to resist the policy of divisions, bureaucratic exclusiveness, isolation, and disintegration in Serbia and in Yugoslavia and, most important, which are successful in this. Hence the authentic Yugoslav character, importance, and essence of present original democratic and progressive events in Vojvodina which undoubtedly have a positive effect on the overall political and social situation in the Republic of Serbia and in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Apart from this, the discussion drew attention, Markov said, to the fact that one of the important roots of the circumstances that made possible the creation of a bureaucratic-autonomist policy was the overall situation and relations in the LCY. There was emphasis primarily on the insufficient implmentation of the principle of democratic socialism, on the fact that there are tendencies to weaken not only the action but also the ideological unity of the LCY and on the fact that the LCY has become federalized.

[Transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 4, 5, and 6 not received]

The first participant in the discussion, Zivko Radulovic from Coka, stressed that differentiation must be carried out to the end in all environments, collectives, and institutions. Apart from the ideo-political differentiation, he also called for differentiation in work, warning in particular that the differentiation should be also carried out in the top organs of the LC. He even thinks that criminal responsibility should possibly be established in the cases of some former leaders in Vojvodina. In this connection, he mentioned Djordje Stojsic, stressing that Stojsic used to hold secret meetings, that he had organized the meeting in Sremska Mitrovica and abused his official position using a vehicle of the Vojvodina LC Provincial committee and a doctor to accompany him during his stay at the beach.

Zivko Radulovic thought that all the leaders who took part in various affairs and in the unauthorized spending of public money should be expelled from the LC and that a question should be raised in order to establish whether they worked against the people and the state. [passage omitted] Milan Radakovic drew attention to the fact that during the extraodinary conference of the Zrenjanin LC there was an insufficient number of Hungarians and Slovaks elected, assessing this as the consequence of the long-term autonomist policy carried out in Vojvodina until now. [passage omitted]

Dusan Latinovic thinks that the struggle for differentiation, which has been carried out for only 3 months now, represents just the beginning of a more resolute action of the Vojvodina LC and the LCY as a whole against all negative phenomena in our society which have been accumulating for years. [passage omitted]

Radoman Bozovic, president of the Subotica LC Municipal Committee, stressed that it should be said clearly that the essence of the concept of the policy conducted in Vojvodina was a state-separatist concept in a negative sense—a position of Vojvodina within the SR of Serbia and its so-called mediating place in the federation. [passage omitted]

After a broad discussion, the provincial committee endorsed the draft critical assessment of the ideopolitical situation in Vojvodina, as well as the draft immediate tasks for overcoming the current political situation in this province. [passage ommitted]

Djordje Romoda spoke about the tasks of Communists from Vojvodina in connection with implementing the economic reform, which will also be on the agenda of the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC. [passage omitted]

Following an exhaustive discussion on the reports by the working groups who were looking into the facts concerning the responsibility of the members of the former Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium and members of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, the Vojodina LC Provincial Committee in an open vote today expelled Milovan Sogorov, Djordje Stojsoc, Todor Gavrilov, Zivan Berisavljeciv, Janko Drca, Djordje Radosavljevic, and Dusan Popovic from LCY membership.

The Provincial Committee asked members of the former Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium who have not submitted their resignations to amend their ideopolitical stances. Karlos Vajs, Geza Madai, and Sinsa Korica were reprimanded, while Miladin Stanimirovic, Silvija Zugic-Rijavec, Miroslav Francuski, Katalin Hajnal, and Svetozar Jovanmovic received the final reprimand. Provincial Committee members Mihajlo Katona and Branimir Brkljac were reprimanded, while Zivan Marelj received the final reprimand.

As far as Miladin Cepic, Janos Kermeci, Slobodan Tesic, Djerdje Vlacko, Matija Jozic, Andras Balint, Dragan Bozic, and Milan Janjic are concerned the working group established that there were no grounds for ideopolitical responsibility, and this view was accepted by the Provincial Committee members with a vote.

The working group also proposed—and the committee members accepted the proposals—that the initiative be effected to have the following members of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee expelled from the Serbian LC Central Committee: Milica Dejanac, who has already resigned; Mirce Bundra; Djordje Ledjenac; Zivko Marceta; Pavle Krtinic; Radovan Medjenovic, who has already resigned; Milka Puzigaca; Radovan Vukasinovic; and Zarko Cosic. It has also been agreed, on the initiative of the Subotica Communists, that Marija Antunovic, Janko Pejanovic, Djordje Sorad, and Gizela Varga be relieved of their duties as members of the Serbian LC Central Committee without their responsibility being actually established.

The initiative was also approved to propose to the LCY Central Committee to expel from its membership Bosko Krunic, Petar Matic, Borislav Odzadic, Matija Vaslovic, Nandor Major, and Ladislava Darabvos. It has also been suggested to the LCY Committee Presidium to relieve Vukasin Loncar, an executive secretary of the Vojvodina LC Presidium, of his duties.

The reports by the working groups who established the facts concerning the responsibility of the Vojvodina LC former Provincial Committee Presidium members who have not tendered their resignations and of some of he Provincial Committee members were read by Pavle Durakov and Branislav Bugarski. During their work, they said, the working groups had established that previous provincial policy had been distinguished by the tendency of creating a province with the prerogatives of a state, in other words of creating a state within a state, and especialy the tendency of unprincipled rivalry with Serbia.

Branislav Bugarski informed members of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee that Vera Banic-Caric, Jan Sirka, Slobodan Budakov, Marijana Pajvancic, Maksa Djuristic, and Rudi Sova have also tendered their resignations from the Serbian LC Central Committee. Nemanja Jovanovic and Radoman Perkovic have tendered their resignations from the Serbian LC Central Committee to divide their offices. Rudolf Jontovic resigned for health reasons. Resignations from the LCY Central Committee have been tendered by Bosko Krunic and Dragan Labus, for family reasons.

In order to divide his offices, Bugarski said, Radovan Vlajkovic, a member of the SFRY Presidency, is also expected to tender his resignation from membership in the LCY Central Committee. However, during the discussion, Radoman Bozovic pointed out that Vlajkovic can be discussed only within the framework of his overall political responsibility, and certainly not from the point of view of division of office. Bozovic also stressed that in these times a legitimate process must be established in Vojvodina to make sure that the people do not remain on the political scene who are better at assessing the situation or those who trim their sails to the prevailing political wind.

The Provincial Committee Presidium elected after the October events, Stanko Radmilovic said, member of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, was intended to play the role of the Trojan horse to allow the "dust to settle." Our previous attitude toward Vojvodina policy, Radmilovic said, was interpreted as inability or as a failure to understand what was happening. However, this was not the case.

In a lengthy discussion, the representatives of the LC Municipal Committees and members of the Provincial Committee described the situation prior to the big cadre and political changes, and endorsed the evaluations contained in the reports of the working groups. Some of those with whom working groups dealt, and to whom party sentences were issued, also took to the floor. Janko Drca said that he has no intention to defend and justify himself, but he stressed that he is not outside bureaucratism since these are existing form of relations in the society. According to him, weaknesses in information about the Novi Sad meeting cannot be atributed solely to him, although he was then the secretary of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, since that was the assessment of a collective organ. [sentenced as received]

Zivan Berisavljevic gave the longest speech. He rejected the working group's assessments and stressed that time will show that what is now happening is a wretched mortgage of the Vojvodina LC. Berisavljevic said that this is an unprecedented purge, which is called a big cadre renewal. He is of the opinion that resignation should have been tendered after the October events, not as a result of reaharsed slogans, which he rejects with disgust. He is not a traitor of the people, he said. But due to all circumstances, and to those who are behind the meeting, he did not wish to resign. Recalling his revolutionary origin and youth, Berisavljevic stressed that he advocated changes and reform. The ringleaders of the Slobo freedom-loving [Slobodarski] campaign on Vojvodina, Berisavljevic underscored, know that during 7 years of political work in the province I did not hold a high function. He asked why the Galovic-Milosevic policy is turning him into an ideologist of the exessive autonomy policy.

The Provincial Committee categorically distanced itself from Zivan Berisavljevic's speech.

In opposition to Berisavljevic, Djordje Radosavljevic talked in a calmer manner. He said that he had always been against divisions, and that he would accept all decisions the Provincial Committee makes in connection with him. Sinisa Korica advocated resignations, because he believes that there were shortcomings. We did not recognise new currents, he said, and there was no contact with people. Of course, I had my share in this, Sinisa Korica stressed, and added that he was mistaken because he did not perceive relations in the SR of Serbia in a wider manner. Svetozar Jovanovic also accepted the working group's assessments. [passage omitted]

Following the consultations in the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, the Cadre Commission, Emilija Bala-Bruner said, decided to propose one candidate for the office of both the president and secretary of the Provincial Committee Presidium. In accordance with this, and on behalf of the commission, she proposed Nedeljko Sipovac, currently a Presidium member, an economist and director general of the Backa Topola Agro-Industrial Combine in Backa Topola, for the office of president, and Miodrag Koprivica, the present Presidium secretary, for the office of the Presidium secretary. After these proposals were made, Sava Krstic observed that at a time when the provincial leadership insists that at all levels the number of candidates for all offices should be higher than the number of candidates to be elected, it is correct to have only one candidate for the posts of president and the secretary. Having stressed that the Provincial Committee should serve as an example, he urged that at least two candidates should be put forward for each of the two functions. However, the Provincial Committee voted against this proposal and accepted the recommendation made by the Cadre Commission.

All the proposals, as well as the candidature of Stanko Radmilovic, a doctor of economics, for membership in the LCY Central Committee Presidium from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, will be put forward by the Provincial Committee before the special conference of Vojvodina Communists for adoption.

Members Expelled From LCY

LD1301172289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 13 Jan (TANJUG)—Today the members of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee expelled from the LCY membership by public ballot the former president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, Milovan Sogorov, and the following former members of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium: Janko Drca, Zivan Berisavljevic, Todor Gavrilov, and Djordje Stojsic. Also expelled from the LCY were provincial committee members Djordje Radosavljevic and Dusan Popovic.

The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee also asked ten of its members to modify their ideopolitical stances.

New Candidates Proposed

LD1301192989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1819 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 13 Jan (TANJUG)—Today the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee endorsed proposals for candidates for the Presidium president and secretary. Nedeljko Sipovac was put forward as candidate for the president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium and Miodrag Koprivica as candidate for secretary.

The provincial committee at the same time endorsed the candidacy of Dr Stanko Radmilovic for membership in the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Vojvodina.

Serbian LC Favors Sipovac as Vojvodina Chief

AU1601154489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee issued a statement according to which the proposal that Nedeljko Sipovac be nominated for president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium was unanimously supported at its session held today. The session was chaired by Slobodan Milosevic.

The statement issued adds that in supporting this proposal, the Presidium proceeded from the assessment that Sipovac has proved his readiness to consistently fight for LCY policy, reforms, brotherhood and unity, and togetherness in Serbia and Yugoslavia through his work and moral characteristics, as well as achieved results.

The proposal that Miodrag Koprivica be nominated for secretary of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium was also supported.

The Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee was also informed about the preparations for the forthcoming extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC.

Slovene Central Committee Presidium Session

LD1701014589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1541 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—At today's session of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, which was also attended by the members of the LCY Central Committee from Slovenia, the affirmation of pluralism in the political system of self-management was discussed. The topic will soon be discussed by the Slovene LC Central Committee. At the session, preparations were also discussed for a session of the LCY Central Committee, which will have to consider the situation in the SR of Montengro, which emerged after the legitimate institutions of the political system in that republic were paralyzed.

The session made clear that prompt cadre changes in the federation are necessary, particularly in the FEC.

A statement by the Slovene LC Central Committee Information Office notes that the presidium session will resume tomorrow.

Smole Speaks in Slovenia on Political Pluralism

LD1301212789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1800 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Ljubljana, January 13 (TANJUG)—The economic reform should also open up the market of ideas, programs and standpoints on which the Socialist Alliance should commit itself, president of the Republic's front organization of all progressive forces Joze Smole said today.

At a meeting in Ljubljana, Smole warned that the recognition of the existence of ideological and political pluralism does not mean agreement that pluralism should be expressed through parties.

Smole said that the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia favoured "no-party political pluralism" since communication with new movements was not possible outside the constitutional, socio-economic order based on self-managing socialism and without respect for the principles Yugoslavia's non-aligned foreign policy.

Smole also said that the Socialist Alliance should be moulded as a "front of the people," not a coalition of various allances.

The first speaker at the meeting, Barbara Goricar, said that the new constitution should reaffirm the roles of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People and the sociopolitical system so that neither organization has a monopoly.

On the founding of the new Democratic Alliance several days ago, Goricar said that the Socialist Alliance "respected the readiness for the search for something new." She said that the Socialist Alliance does not want to control the Slovenian Democratic Alliance, on the contrary, it wants to be a place of confrontation of different outlooks, projects, interests and programs on concrete questions.

Viktor Zakelj, the vice-president of the Socialist Alliance, said that polarization was proof that society has matured. He said that productive creators, quantity of production, value of collectives were over-rated in the 1970s, to the detriment of the individual. This is logical, Zakelj said. He believes that the political structure of Yugoslavia as a whole is changing.

Zakelj said that heterogeneousness of the economic system and a different political structure should be secured in Yugoslavia, since, he believes, "unification is dangerous for Yugoslavia."

Slovene Trade Unions Adopt Strike Rules

AU1501205089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 89 p 4

[V.S. report: "Strike Is Not an Emergency Situation"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 Jan—At the end of December, after an almost 6-month long public discussion, the Republican Council of the Trade Unions of Slovenia adopted the final text of their strike rules. The rules clearly define a completely new strategy and new objectives of trade unions, according to which they must lead and organize strikes alone. According to the rules, a strike does not constitute an emergency situation, but represents an integral part of the workers' self-managing rights.

Strikes are led and organized by trade unions, under the assumption, of course, that the workers trust the trade unions. In the cases when workers specifically demand, and the trade union accepts it, the strike is led by a strike committee. The "rules of the game" mention a general strike for the first time. Another novelty is that the striking workers have the right to receive paid person incomes in accordance with general self-managing acts. The strike rules are sufficiently broad, and thus a strike can be led and organized in various ways—something which is necessary; it can be organized in, for instance, a factory, a medical center, etc.

Rules

—The workers have the right to express and realize their interests, demands, and suggestions through a strike. A strike is an integral part of the trade unions' struggle.
—The workers decide on whether a strike should be held, on its beginning and end, and on disbanding the strike committee through their own ballot.
—A trade union organ organizes a strike in an associated labor organization at the request of the majority of workers or at its own initiative. Strikes in sectors of special social importance must be announced at least 1 week in advance.
—Strikes in associated labor organizations are led by a trade union organ, which ensures a quick and timely solution to the workers' demands from managing and other relevant organs.
—Strikes are organized and led by a strike committee at the request of workers or at the proposal of a trade union organ.
—A trade union organ organizes and leads strikes in certain branches of activities as well as in general strikes.
—The basic trade union organizations or the conferences of the trade unions, in accordance with the statutory provisions, determine the accountability of the trade union leadership regarding the causes of strikes, and initiate a procedure for the dismissal of this leadership if this becomes necessary.
—Trade union organs are obliged to prevent any actions against the workers who take part in a strike.
—The workers who are on strike are entitled during the strike to at least the personal income that is equal to the guaranteed personal income.

Slovene Unions 'Wish To Grow Into Parties'

AU1301204189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] The founding of new political unions in Slovenia is the overture to the creation of new sociopolitical relations. At present it would be unrewarding to predict how the events will develop on the Slovene scene. It is only clear that the new unions want a redistribution of power in a parliamentary democracy. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

The generalized platform slogans of the Peasant Union, the Slovene Democratic Union, and the Social Democratic Union are like pies offered to the public and to their new members. In the political pluralist game, this is quite understandable. Who, after all, does not advertise his wares as being the best?

The platform goals of the three unions—especially of the intellectually strongest, the Democratic Union—are indeed on a high declarative level. Humanism, freedom, human rights, democracy, life worthy of man, and better prospects are in the forefront. Subsequent explanations of the platforms of the three political unions, which behave as an informal coalition, express differences in nuances but an identical aim: to ensure for themselves their piece of the pie of power.

The Peasant Union is most frank. It demands two seats on the SAWP Presidium, the return of cooperative land to private farmers, the allocation of social forests in the hilly and mountainous areas to livestock farmers, and favorable prices for agricultural produce. It does not even exclude the possibility of having its own delegates in the assemblies.

The Social Democratic Union, which is yet to be formed, also aspires to a place in a parliamentary democracy. The Slovene Democratic Union constitutes the intellectually strongest group; it numbers about 1,000 members at present. Its leadership includes the rector of Maribor University, professors of Ljubljana University, writers, and cultural workers, as well as Janez Jansa, one of the four convicted by the Ljubljana Military Court.

The indications that they wish to grow into parties—of course, when the conditions are ripe—are characteristic of the three political unions in Slovenia. Does this involve an ambition to create a parliamentary opposition?

Logical thinking leads to an affirmative answer, under which two hidden rocks are lurking. As the spokesmen of the Slovene Democratic Union say, the SAWP would become superfluous under the conditions of a parliamentary democracy, in which political groups would directly express their views. The LC would be the second rock, for it disturbs the new political unions most. Therefore, it is no accident that the Democrats at their founding meeting ascribed to the LC all the sins causing the present crisis situation, and even political dictatorship in the past 4 decades, although Slovenia in this period has experienced the greatest economic, cultural, and social rise, full employment. Slovenia has even experienced the foundation of a university in Maribor—the second in the republic—whose rector sits on the leadership of the new Slovene Democratic Union.

The important thing is to blacken the LC totally and push it from the scene, as it is the chief competitor. One forgets that it was precisely the LC that initiated all three reforms and the democratization of society.

Slovene Democratic Union Adopts Program

AU1701120789 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 Jan 89 p 2

[Darja Verbic report: "Slovene Democratic Union Presents Program of Activities"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 Jan—"The Program of the Slovene Democratic Union was confirmed yesterday. Our thoughts range further. In regard to our position in the SAWP, we will be able to make a judgment when we have more serious contacts; for the time being we want to cooperate with it, we want to discuss the relations, and we would like to be represented on its bodies."

This is what Dimitrij Rupel, president of the Executive Committee of the Slovene Democratic Union said at a press conference today. Rudi Seligo added that the question of the Slovene Democratic Union position in the SAWP depends on the ripening of the positions and ideas in the Slovene Democratic Union itself.

One of the questions referred to the financing of the union. "We have not spent any large sums so far, for our work was chiefly voluntary. We will continue to economize. It would not be sensible to fail to ask the SAWP if it is willing to contribute anything, and even less sensible to take the money if the SAWP asks for anything in return. The basic financial source should be the membership fees as the means to financial independence."

Rudi Seligo stressed that the name of the Slovene National Union does not mean that it is formed on a national basis and that its doors are closed to others. On the contrary, both Seligo and Rupel believe they are prepared to cooperate and to link up with others; thus they got in touch with the Slovene community in Trieste. Veno Taufer repeated the invitation by the representatives of the Democratic Forum in Budapest, which will be founded on 11 and 12 March in the Hungarian capital. Taufer also stressed that human rights, as the starting point of democracy and civilization in general, will be one of the fundamental points of the activities of the Slovene Democratic Union.

[The following passage appears boxed in the body of the item] **In conclusion Dimitrij Rupel repeated the idea that has been expressed on several occasions, to the effect that they want to cooperate in the drafting of the new Slovene constitution with the Constitutional Commission, the Human Rights Protection Committee, the Slovene Matica [cultural society], and the 2000 Society....**

Candidates Nominated for SFRY Presidency

Milosevic, Others Nominated

LD1201202789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1516 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Cacak, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—None of the present members of the SFRY Presidency should be registered again for candidates for this post, today's joint session of the presidia of the municipal conference of the SAWP and municipal council of the trade unions in Cacak decided. It was unanimously decided to propose to the republican conference of the SAWP that the SFRY Assembly be asked to establish individual responsibility of the present members of the collective head of the state for the overall—as stated—very difficult situation in the country, especially Kosovo.

Anger was expressed toward the behavior of Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, and especially at his attempt to impose the accumulated burden of nationalism on the Serbian people, which allegedly threatens the fraternal Macedonian nation to the same degree as nationalism of some neighborly states.

The two presidia in Cacak put forward Sloboda Milosevic, Bogdan Trifunovic, and Borisav Jovic as candidates for the SFRY Presidency from the SR of Serbia. It was said that the people itself registered them, because they have proved themselves to be consistent fighters for fundamental changes in society, and to be very industrious, professional, and personally honest.

Croat Candidates Announced

LD1201160589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—Today the Republican Conference of the Croat SAWP Presidium adopted the following comprehensive list of 10 candidates for membership of the SFRY Presidency from the SR of Croatia: Tomislav Badovinac, Zvonko Erak, Branko Horvat, Zvonimir Hrabar, Dusko Kalodjera, Ante Markovic, Ivica Mastruko, Andjelko Runjic, Velimir Srica, and Stipe Suvar.

Until December of last year, 72 candidates were registered in the republic at meetings of the working people and citizens, of delegations and at delegation conferences, and through other forums of organizing on a self-management basis. After being consulted about their willingness to participate in further election procedures, 60 declined nomination. [passage omitted]

FEC Vice President Declines Candidacy

LD1301154689 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] FEC Vice President Milos Milosavljevic does not want to be a candidate for the new president of the federal government. He believes that the person for this post should be sought outside of those who have been FEC members and who collectively resigned. This emerges from the letter which Milos Milosavljevic sent today to Dr Bozidar Colakovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference.

LCY Congress To Be Held Early, Suvar Says

AU1301154989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] The 14th LCY Congress will most probably he held before the deadline set by the statute, it has been stated at a session of the commission preparing the foundations of the LCY transformation. Stipe Suvar, president of the transformation commission, said at the beginning of the session that the party transformation design will not be submitted to the LCY Central Committee by the end of January, but it will certainly be submitted in February. At that time, Suvar stressed, the Central Committee will also decide on a date for the 14th congress to be held.

The situation is such that we need a party congress before the deadline set by the statute, Suvar stated. The February Central Committee session will also decide whether the chief subject of the congress will be the transformation of the LC. In case it does, the party reform design should be submitted at a general party discussion immediately.

According to Radisa Gacic, one can no longer speak in principle about the LC reform, regardless of the short time available for this voluminous work. It is necessary to pay more attention to facts; therefore the document on the LC reform should be treated as an open perception of the problem, which implies an active attitude on the part of members and organizations in elaborating the document, Radisa Gacic stressed at the session of the commission for the LCY transformation.

Official Resigns Because of Suvar's Actions

LD1601234189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2244 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—Jovan Lakicevic, the head of the LCY Central Committee department of information and propaganda, has resigned because of "the behavior of Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium." This official, in the apparatus of the country's highest-ranking party leadership, sent to the LCY Central Committee Presidium a detailed letter in which he requested that it consider it at its next session and approve his resignation. Lakicevic also expressed his dissatisfaction with some of the actions by the current president of the Yugoslav Communists against this service, and especially the circumvention of the leaders of this service, something for which he provided a broad and profound political context.

Lakicevic cited several examples with which he illustrates this assessment, and in his letter dwells mostly on the explanation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium president's order to a certain number of "the most creative workers" of this service, again circumventing its leadership, to cut from the newspapers—and while working overtime—all the critical passages concerning individual officials in the country's leadership. Not disputing the right of the top person of the party of the Yugoslav Communists to give such orders—though personally, he says, he does not see the aim and point of such work—Lakicevic is critical of the fact that this is borne by the "cover" of this service and not by the president's cabinet.

The news about the resignation of Lakicevic, along with the letter sent to the LCY Central Committee secretary and the letter to the LCY Central Committee Presidium, is published in tomorrow's POLITIKA.

POLITIKA Criticizes Suvar's Stands

LD1501185089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1818 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 15 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA wondered today where Dr Stipe Suvar, the first man of the Yugoslav party, is leading the League of Communists and whether and how much "is contributing to the party's breaking away from the people in a bureaucratic-sectarian manner."

In a long commentary titled "A See-Through Coalition," the paper had sharp words to say about the president of Yugoslavia's Communists above all, POLITIKA claimed, because of Suvar's reservations felt towards "obviously historic developments in Montenegro."

In that poorest constituent republic in Yugoslavia a mass of some 100,000 demonstrators forced in mid past week that republic's complete leadership to resign en bloc.

It was for like reasons that Suvar got criticized yesterday by POLITIKA EKSPRES, another Belgrade daily and the eveninger of the POLITIKA newspaper publishing house.

The daily POLITIKA, close to the leadership of the Republic of Serbia, wrote that "it is more than certain that the Feder Piate and party circles, if not had initiated, then at least said 'yes' to the act done by Montenegro's leadership. Irretrievable, however, are the times of the untouchable and. [sentence as received] Instead of formal ones, the people and the working class need men of real authority."

In continuation, Politika claimed that "Suvar absolutely was not right" in stating the other day that the people should not dismiss the party's leading bodies at its rallies.

"Presumably, the people is the biggest and strongest pillar of the system. It can both dismiss and elect and is always right," the paper retorted.

The Belgrade newspaper also attacked Suvar by reason of his coming out in favour of having the resignations of Marko Orlandic and Vidoje Zarkovic, Montenegro's representatives on the party's federal Presidency, explained at the next session of the LCY Central Committee.

"Montenegro's Communists and people said all they had to say," POLITIKA's commentator considered.

To reform the League of Communists is a pressing and urgent task, the paper pointed out in conclusion, but, "as conceived by some in top party circles, it would lead to doing away with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia."

Dizdarevic Addresses Presidency Session

LD1601204689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1914 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 16 (TANJUG)—Conflicts between the leaderships of some Yugoslav republics and provinces have assumed such proportions that they have no more time to fight the force trying to divert the course of social development, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Raif Dizdarevic said at Friday's session of this body, from which only a brief announcement was at first issued.

"These forces have been given free room for action and allies are being sought among them, especially as concerns nationalists in the policy and practice of bringing about national homogenization," Dizdarevic told the session.

The Presidency insisted that the present conflicts between individual republican and provincial leaderships, often fanned up according to scenarios of the media, begin to be dealt with through dialogue. It was proposed that in order to surmount the crisis situation, the leaderships of the Province of Kosovo and the Republic of Macedonia, the republics of Serbia and Slovenia, as well as the leadership of the Republic of Montenegro and those of Serbia and Slovenia meet as soon as possible. The initiative had also earlier been raised by the Presidency of the SFRY, but had failed to meet with response.

At the session, which was attended by all senior federal officials except the president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency, as well as by the presidents of the Presidencies of all Yugoslav republics and autonomous provinces (except Montengro), it was proposed that the "question should be cleared up" at a meeting of the LCY Central Committee Presidency to be held as soon as possible. "So far there have been no manifestations of readiness for this kind of frank talks," said Dizdarevic, adding, "we talk frankly about one another but behind our back, and not with one another."

The list of initiatives from the meeting of the Yugoslav state Presidency is topped by the demand that the largest republic, Serbia, and its underdeveloped autonomous province of Kosovo should adjust, as soon as possible and "without unnecessary politicizing," their stands on all proposed changes in Serbia's constitution. The changes, among other things, provide for Serbia's state jurisdication over its entire territory, without encroaching upon the autonomy of its two autonomous provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina.

Any delay, it was noted, only plays into the hands of the enemies of Serbia's Constitution upon these foundations, which have been repeatedly upheld by the Presidency of the SFRY.

On the situation in Kosovo Province, affected by Albanian chauvinism and separatism, the Presidency of the SFRY noted that it was "even worse than a year ago" and decided that the question should be put again on the agenda of its special session to assess how much room has been left for a "democratic alternative of resolving" this burning issue.

The Presidency of the SFRY also called for the respect of legality when the point in question was the founding of various political associations, groups of citizens and organizations past and outside the largest Yugloslav socio-political organization, the Socialist Alliance.

The announcement, addressed to the republics and provinces, paid special attention to economic problems and asked the outgoing government to do everything in its power to halt the perilous course of inflation.

The republics and provinces were asked to make maximum efforts in the same direction and not to hide their great responsibility for the serious economic situation behind the failures of the federal government, because they had actively participated in shaping and adopting all federal measures and laws which had in the meantime come under criticism.

New Association for Democratic Initiative Formed

AU1701120389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 89 p 3

[Seada Vranic report: "Only United Yugoslavia Will Be Strong"]

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Jan—What has been talked about in intellectual circles in Zagreb for months, and what had recently been announced in the press has come true: The Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative has been founded. This afternoon, in the presence of a large number of scientists and cultural workers, as well as journalists, its initiators held a founding assembly. As we write this article, the statute of the association has not formally been adopted, nor its president elected, but this "post" will most probably be taken by Dr Predrag Matvejevic, a professor in the French Literature Department of the Zagreb Faculty of Philosophy and a writer and essayist, considering that so far he has been the only proposed candidate.

A Dream About Yugoslavia

The fact that such an eminent political act took place in Zagreb outside the framework of official politics—which is to say outside what we normally call "the action of organized socialist forces"—will in the course of the next few days undoubtedly draw the attention of official forums and the mass media, and will be the subject of careful analyses. At present we can say that the founding of the association is only the beginning of the process of concretizing ideas on democratic integration in Yugoslavia, which was launched by Professor Dr Branko Horvat a few months ago, but which has deep roots in intellectual circles in Zagreb.

However, before broaching the aims and essence of this kind of "alternative association" it is necessary to clarify one thing: This association is not a new political party or anything that resembles a political party. This claim is based above all on the statements made by Matvejevic and Horvat, who reject such ideas and aspire to the association's influence on the Yugoslav public and Yugoslav politics, something that is logical. The time will, as a proven judge, certainly reveal the truth. At present we can only judge things on the basis of what has been formulated in the association's draft statue and in the statements made by the main protagonists of this association.

The first article of the statute states that the aim of this association is the cultural and political integration of Yugoslavia on the socialist basis, with the full respect for civil rights and freedoms and national identity and orientations. The only restriction to the clause that the association can be joined by all adult citizens of Yugoslavia is that the association will be closed for those who have compromised themselves through national and religious intolerance or chauvinism. It is in fact this provision, along with the basic attributes of the association as a "democratic and Yugoslav" association, that reflects not only the aims, but also the main impulse of this group of intellectuals to venture in this action. It would not, however, be superfluous to say that their initiative is primarily the reaction to the actual downfall of Yugoslav society, to national (and often nationalist) divisions and segregation, to ethnic fear and paranoia. After all, everybody involved in the founding of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, admitted, at least indirectly, that they fear for Yugoslav togetherness, over which, under the influence of serious economic crisis, and not only this, there are black clouds. Let us for instance mention Professor Dr Ivica Mastruk who, ignoring the schedule, recently appealed in the Croatian Assembly to all good-hearted people, above all intellectuals, inviting them to join in a dream about Yugoslavia. Or the doyen of our Marxist thought, Academician Predrag Vranicki, who has been appealing to reason for many years, and who stressed that mutual differences are not some kind of evil and that we should work on a true Yugoslav synthesis.

In brief, one can hardly ignore the initiative to gather together intellectuals so that they can speak about the most vital questions and problems concerning Yugoslavia, so that they can try to outplay and oppose disintegration, to oppose national and nationalist divisions through the strength of their scientific, artistic, and cultural authority and moral dignity, and to oppose this madness above all other madnesses.

Intellect's Rebellion

We have not come to this conclusion because the initiative for a democratic Yugoslav synthesis came from intellectuals, of whom—and this must be said—many are intellectuals of a European mindset, but above all because this represents intellect's rebellion against madness.

This is why one can realistically expect that the Zagreb intellectuals' initiative will not be characterized by local flavor, and that it will truly become Yugoslav. After all, this is the intention of the people in the Initiating Council which, avoiding all possible local and republican borders and national entities, insists on the Yugoslav democratic character of the association.

Of course, the question is: What kind of stand will the Croatian official politics take? At present one can only speculate about this, considering that none of the local officials wanted to comment on the association and its intentions. Nevertheless, one could conclude that the aims and intentions of the association are not in contradiction with the official intentions of this republic's leadership, which was—let us recall—very resolutely opposed to any national programs, a partial solution to the Yugoslav crisis, and to national homogenizations [homogenizacija].

We should still wait, though. In any case, the Croatian leadership will not be able to keep silent forever about what happened in the club of university professors in Zagreb. As far as the association itself is concerned, real work is still awaiting it. After all the easiest part was to found it. So far it can only be judged by its good intentions. It remains to be seen whether this attempt will be be understood in this way and whether the association's statements on certain events will be welcomed by our (Yugoslav) political, state, and party organs.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

(Draft Statute of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative)

Aims of Association

1. The aim of the association is the democratic integration of Yugoslavia—cultural and political—on the socialist basis, with full respect for civil rights and freedoms, national identity and orientations.

Members

2. All adult citizens of Yugoslavia who have not compromised themselves through national or religious intolerance, exclusions, or chauvinism can become members of the association.

3. The association is an open association. One can join the association by submitting a written application to the Administrative Office [Uprava] or by being recommended by two members of the association who guarantee that those interested in the association comply with the conditions set in Article 2.

4. The decision on acceptance to the association is made by the Administrative Office, which accepts or rejects application by a majority vote.

5. Expulsion is conducted on the basis of a well-substantiated proposal, which is discussed by the Administrative Office. In the cases of improper behavior, it is thought that those concerned have self-expelled themselves.

Organs of Association

6. The association has an Administrative Office and a Council [Savet]. Their size is determined by prevailing needs. The Council and Administrative Office could have one or more presidents. The Administrative Office has an executive secretariat.

7. The first Administrative Office and Council consist of the founders of the association.

8. The Administration Office is an administrative organ and is in charge of running current affairs. The Council is in charge of monitoring the realization of the association's aims, initiates, or advises the undertaking of certain actions.

9. The Administrative Office and the Council are elected every 2 years at assemblies or through a postal ballot by the members of the association. Any member can propose organs and members of the associations's Council, the president of the Council and the Administrative Office, executive secretaries, treasurer, and so forth.

10. The association may have sections for certain activities, local councils, affiliated bodies, and similar things.

Associations' Activities

11. The association organizes public discussions on topical questions concerning social life in Yugoslavia.

12. The association may make public statements concerning some events in the country. It may also send its proposals to the state and party organs.

13. The association will publish its statements in the magazine SCIENTIA YUGOSLAVICA and, if needed and if possible, in other places.

Finances

14. Work in the association is voluntary.

15. The activity is financed through publishing activities and contributions by the patron and members. The association will use the address and giro account of the magazine SCIENTIA YUGOSLAVICA (with a special address: "For the Association for Yugoslav Initiative")

16. In the case of the association ceasing to exist, its property will become the property of the Yugoslav Red Cross.